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**ABSTRACT**

This document analyzes, compares, and evaluates foreign student policies of governments and higher education institutions throughout the Western world and it also provides an extensive bibliography of materials on this topic. After a brief introductory chapter providing definitions and delineating categories of policy issues, the following topics are discussed in part 1: (1) recent refound interest in policy formation; (2) policy issues at the national and institutional level relating to population; (3) policy issues at the national and institutional level relating to economics; (4) graduate student policy issues; (5) policy implications of home government concerns; and (6) policy rationale for admitting foreign students. Appended to part 1 are a summary of key national policy issues in the areas of population, economics, and foreign policy and key institutional policy issues in the areas of population, logistics, administration, and academics, along with statistical charts. Part 2, the bibliography, is divided into the following sections: general aspects of policy, government policies in general, institutional policies on foreign students, foreign student policy and development aid, population issues, policy rationale for admitting foreign students, recruitment and admission, curriculum and training, economics and finance, graduate students, student services, and policies in socialist nations. (TE)

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# Governmental and Institutional Policies on Foreign Students: Analysis, Evaluation and Bibliography

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Number Sixteen

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**Governmental and Institutional  
Policies on Foreign Students:  
An Overview and  
Bibliography**

*Y. G-M. Lulat  
Philip G. Altbach  
David H. Kelly*

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**Special Studies in Comparative Education,  
Number Sixteen**

(Prepared with the assistance of the Department of African-American  
Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo)

**Comparative Education Center  
State University of New York at Buffalo**

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## Foreward

Foreign students and international education in general are increasingly becoming an important focus of attention for U.S. universities, as well as universities in other countries hosting large numbers of foreign students. With more than 340, 000 foreign students studying in the United States (and with more than one million worldwide,) this is not surprising.

As this publication goes to press, a fee increase for foreign students in Australia has created tensions between that country and its Southeast Asian neighbours, who send many students to Australia. Canadian and British policies over the past few years have led to a decline in the numbers of foreign students studying in these countries. This publication, with its focus on one area of foreign student issues: the development of policy relating to foreign students by governments and higher education institutions, appears therefore, at an important period in the evolution of policies on foreign students, among the major *host* nations.

Comprising two parts: a bibliography, and an extensive essay that provides an evaluatory overview, from a comparative perspective, of the key topics within the area of foreign student policy, this publication represents the Comparative Education Center's continuing research interest in international education. Commissioned by the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, it supplements two other publications commissioned from us by the Association: A major bibliography published in 1985 (Philip G. Altbach; David H. Kelly; and Y.G-M. Lulat. *Research on Foreign Students and International Study: An Overview and Bibliography*. New York: Praeger, 1985.) with assistance also from the Exxon Educational Foundation, and the Institute of International Education, and *Education for International Development: International Development and the Foreign Student: A Select Bibliography* by Philip G. Altbach and David H. Kelly, and published by the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs in 1984.

We are greatly indebted to all the three organizations: the Exxon Educational Foundation, the Institute of International Education, and the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, for sponsoring the initial foreign student bibliography project, of which this publication is one of the

offshoots.<sup>1</sup> Other publications that have resulted from the Center's foreign student research program are:

**Philip G. Altbach.** "The Foreign Student Dilemma," *Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education*, no. 236-37 (1985), pp. 7-92.

**Y. G-M. Lulat and Philip G. Altbach.** "International Students in Comparative Perspective: Toward a Political Economy of International Study," in John Smart, ed. *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research, Volume 1* New York: Agathon, 1985, pp. 439-94.

**Philip G. Altbach.** "The Foreign Student Dilemma," *Teachers College Record* 87 (Summer 1986): 589-610.

Both co-authors: David H. Kelly and Y. G-M. Lulat have been associated with the project from its inception. Dr. David H. Kelly is Assistant Professor of History at D'Youville College, Buffalo, New York. The senior author, Y. G-M. Lulat, who wrote the bulk of the essay, is a doctoral candidate in Comparative Education at SUNY-Buffalo. Besides recently completing a Certificate in International Development and Environmental Planning at SUNY-Buffalo, Y.G-M. Lulat holds degrees in Education, Educational Planning and Political Economy from the University of Zambia, University of Lancaster (England), and University of Toronto (Canada).

This volume was prepared as part of the research program of the Comparative Education Center. It is 16th in our Special Studies Series.

**Philip G. Altbach, Director  
Comparative Education Center**

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<sup>1</sup>Funding support by these organizations does not imply that they necessarily share the opinions expressed by us in these publications.

### Acknowledgements

A number of people at the State University of New York at Buffalo assisted in the preparation of this volume, including Gabriel Wood (graphics consultant, University Computing Center); Fathy El-Gharbawy (doctoral student); and Jerry Drost, Donald Hartman and Ed Herman (reference librarians), and we owe them special thanks. John Reichard, Norman Peterson and other colleagues at NAFSA, and Joseph F. Williams (Director, International Education Services, SUNY-Buffalo) provided valuable advice and comments on an earlier draft. We are greatly indebted to them. Many thanks are also due to the Chairman of the Department of African-American Studies, James Pappas for his support. None of the persons mentioned here, it must be added, necessarily concur with the opinions and conclusions reached in this publication. The figures and statistical material in *Appendix A* were prepared by Y.G-M. Lulat.

# **PART ONE**

## **Governmental and Institutional Policies on Foreign Students from a Comparative Perspective: An Overview and Evaluation**

*Y. G-M. Lulat and Philip G. Altbach*

## 1 Introduction

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The formulation of policy on foreign students,<sup>1</sup> has in recent years generated considerable interest, among both politicians and educators, in almost all the major host nations in the West. Symptomatic of this has been a flurry of activities ranging from appointment of fact finding government commissions through publication of reports by private organizations, to enactment of new legislation. Emerging from these activities are a number of salient policy issues and concerns; and in Part One of the pages that follow it will be our task to describe them. In doing so we shall adopt a comparative perspective (to befit the international nature of the foreign student phenomenon), examining policies and issues among the major host nations in the West such as Britain, France and the United States. Description however, is not our only objective—analysis, evaluation, and prognostication will form an integral part of the discussion. In Part Two we provide a select bibliography on foreign student policies—again from a comparative perspective.

### 1.1 Definitions

In examining policy on foreign students it is necessary to be clear about what one means by the term policy, and more importantly what foreign student matters are generally considered by policy makers to fall within the domain of policy issues. In terms of this overview, policy is to be understood to mean any statement made by an appropriate administrative body in an institution, organization, federal state, or country on the present or future course of action (in terms of procedure and achievement of specified goals), with regard to a given area—in this case foreign students—that falls under its administrative jurisdiction. Policy analysts should note however that this does not imply that all policies are necessarily set out in specific documents and clearly labeled as 'policy'. Many policies emerge out of day to day operational procedures of institutions and government departments, and yet those who set up these procedures may not necessarily view them as policy statements. Statements of policy therefore can be found in clearly marked policy documents as well as administrative operational guidelines—written and unwritten.

<sup>1</sup>A *foreign student* is defined here to mean any student who comes from abroad specifically for the purposes of study (usually at the tertiary educational level), and who is expected to leave the country upon completion of his/her studies. This term is used interchangeably with the term 'international student(s)' throughout this essay.

Therefore it is important to be aware of the fact that not all policies are a result of prior research, consultation, negotiation, and so on.

Like policies on many other educational matters, policy on foreign students incorporates issues that may involve decision making at one or more of two basic levels: governmental (either national or state level), and institutional level (including departmental level). The significance of noting this is that quite often policy decisions made for entirely different reasons at one level, will have unintended implications for the other level. A case in point is the proposed set of new rules by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) aimed at reducing what it calls "burdensome paper work" and maintaining greater control over foreign students in the U.S. via "more effective use of institutional sponsorship of the students by the schools." (*Federal Register*, Vol. 51, no. 149, August 4, 1986, p. 27867.) These new rules will place greater administrative responsibility on institutions for "policing" the status and movement of foreign students, producing a number of clear educational policy implications. One of these has to do with the time period a doctoral student would be allowed to complete his/her studies—consequently determining what research area that the student decides to engage in. (Under the new rules, remaining a full-time student, and in compliance with such regulations as not engaging in unauthorized employment will in itself no longer suffice—as has been the case hitherto—to prevent possible deportation.<sup>2</sup>)

It is also important to keep in mind that policy issues may have implications for a wide range of groups beyond those that are obviously affected. For example among the principal groups that can be affected by policy decisions regarding foreign students (besides the students themselves) include: (a) local universities and colleges; (b) foreign universities and colleges; (c) local and national economies; (d) foreign economies (e) local students and their families; (f) national governments; (g) state governments; (h) administrative bureaucracies; and (i) institutional faculty.

## 1.2 Categories of Policy Issues

What foreign student issues however, are to be considered as policy issues? The general answer is that any area that warrants a set of long term specific administrative decisions. Defined in this way, there are a wide variety of matters that can be considered as policy issues. In more specific terms however, a careful scrutiny

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<sup>2</sup>For more details regarding the educational consequences of INS regulations as a whole, see National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1985, and 1985(a)

of key policy studies and reports,<sup>3</sup> indicates a recurrent set of foreign student policy concerns. These concerns can be categorized under three major headings: (1) Population, (2) Economics, and (3) Foreign Policy at the governmental level; and at the institutional level they can be categorized under four major headings: (1) Population (note that some of the same issues considered at the national (macro) level have to be considered at the institutional (micro) level, (2) Admission and Recruitment, (3) Finances, (4) Curriculum and Training, and (5) Student Services. For a detailed breakdown of what type of specific policy questions arise under these general headings at both the governmental and institutional levels, see *Appendix A*. And as the appendix shows, policy issues on foreign students encompasses a variety of complex and interrelated issues. Given space limitations it is not possible to describe in detail all these issues and therefore the following discussion will be selective, concentrating largely on those issues that it is felt will become of increasing importance in the years to come.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.3 The Bibliography

Interest in the formulation of policies on foreign students, not surprisingly, has over the past few years generated a significant amount of literature, and the bibliography in Part Two lists the major components of it produced in the period roughly from 1965 to 1986. It should be noted that, like this overview, the bibliography does not cover all topics and issues on policy mentioned in *Appendix A*, it is selective. Part of the reason for this has to do with space limitations, and part of the reason is that this bibliography is in a sense a supplement to a much larger bibliography published recently, which covers virtually all matters relating to foreign students—including policy matters. (Altbach, et al, 1985). The bibliography has been prepared with both policy makers and researchers in mind.

<sup>3</sup>The following are among the sources that were examined: American Council on Education (1982); Canadian Bureau of International Education (1981; and 1981(a)); Chandler (1985); College Entrance Examination Board (1971); Fraser (1965); Goodwin and Nacht (1983); Australia, Government (1984); McCann (1986); National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (1972; 1979; and 1981); Solmon and Beddow (1984); U.S. Congress, House (1984; and 1985); World University Service(1986);and Williams (1981; and 1982)

<sup>4</sup>It may be noted here that the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (1987(a)) has produced a manual for institutions that may wish to develop a formal and systematic set of policy guidelines for itself with respect to foreign students. This manual, entitled *NAFSA Self-study Guide: A guide for the Self Assessment of Programs and Services with International Educational Exchange at Post Secondary Institutions*, not only outlines procedures for conducting a comprehensive in-house policy assessment, but also provides a cogent rationale for it.



Although an effort has been made to make the bibliography international in scope (albeit limited to material published in the English language), material produced in the United States invariably dominates the literature, especially in the area of institutional policies. This is an outcome of two factors: the generally decentralized higher education system of the U.S., coupled with the presence of what is probably the largest private higher education sector in the world, has tended to lead to greater public/ institutional debate/ interest regarding policy on foreign student matters than would have been the case if the system was as centralized and state controlled, as in some of the European countries—thus resulting in a larger literature output; and the presence within its borders of the largest body of foreign students in the world, numbering nearly a third of the world total, which has further helped to augment this output.<sup>5</sup> Given this preponderance of U.S. based literature on foreign student issues, it should also be noted that discussion in this essay will inevitably be dominated by references to the U.S. experience.

## 2 Recent Refound Interest in Policy

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The recent proliferation of documents and reports on foreign student policy, (such as Williams, 1982; American Council on Education, 1982; Government of Australia, 1984) may give the impression that interest in policy formulation is of recent origin. This, however, is not so. Almost a decade and a half ago in the U.S., for example, the following recommendation was made by, among others, the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, the Institute of International Education, and the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs at a colloquium held in 1970:

*Each university should develop an explicit rationale for the admission of foreign students and prepare itself for closer scrutiny by boards of trustees or regents, as well as by state and other funding agencies, as to why these students are being admitted and supported . . . There is a need for a long range national policy on international exchange of graduate students to*

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<sup>5</sup>It should be noted here that this magnitude of the U.S. foreign student population is not in terms of proportions of total nation-wide student enrollments, which is considerably low, when compared to that for countries such as Britain; France; and West Germany. See Appendix B for actual figures.

*which individual institutions and graduate schools can relate their own policies. (College Entrance Examination Board, 1971:64)*

Yet by and large these recommendations went unheeded. It seems that at that time the numbers of foreign students had not reached levels sufficient to cause a great deal of concern in the U.S.; and the same was generally true elsewhere. A decade or so later however, the situation changed, as the foreign student population world-wide reached close to the one million mark, producing a phenomenal 500 per cent increase within that period. Consequently, any meaningful discussion of governmental/ institutional policies on foreign students must begin by examining the dominant trends in magnitudes, and international mobility patterns of foreign students.

## **2.1 International Magnitudes and Mobility Patterns**

As the figures in *Appendix B* show, within the broader context of a massive four-fold increase in the world-wide population of foreign students over the past two and a half decades (and today totaling a million plus), the following trends are significant: (1) The largest numbers of foreign students are coming from the Third World nations (usually the richer ones) and are going to study in the institutions of the advanced industrialized nations (which for the purposes of this discussion includes the Soviet Union). (2) Over the past decade the largest increases in foreign student numbers have generally come from those nations that are members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. (3) Among the industrialized nations, the major host countries for foreign students represent only a handful: Canada, France, West Germany, U.K., U.S.A, and the U.S.S.R.; (who together host nearly two thirds of all foreign students world-wide.)

There has also been significant movement of students from advanced industrial nations to other industrially advanced nations (or even to a few Third World nations); as well as movement of students among the Third World nations themselves, but in comparison to the general global South to North flow pattern these movements are less significant in numerical terms.<sup>6</sup> Consequently the ensuing discussion will concentrate largely on policies on foreign students within the advanced industrial nations. That is incoming foreign students and whose general profile can be described as follows: the student's gender is male; he is usually between 20 and 30 years of age; his marital status is single; his financial support is based on private

<sup>6</sup>For a more detailed discussion of the global movements of foreign students see Sirowy and Inkelas, (1985); and Lee and Tan, (1984.)

sources (usually family<sup>7</sup>); his social background is middle-class (in other words he is most likely not of humble origins, even if he may be from a poor Third World country); and his field of study is usually one of the following: engineering sciences; computer sciences; management studies; or agricultural and biological sciences; and there is one in two chance that he comes from a country in Asia—except in France where the region of origin is most likely to be Francophone Africa.<sup>8</sup>

## 2.2 Policy Formulation: The Beginnings

The large annual increases (until recently) in foreign student numbers however, do not by themselves fully explain the refund interest in policy on foreign students. There have been other factors at play too. One of them is economics. To elaborate: over the past two and a half decades or so, as mentioned earlier, the foreign student population has experienced a slow-moving, but massive global population explosion. However given the highly uneven global distribution of this population, the greatest impact of this explosion has been felt in those nations that together host almost two-thirds of all foreign students world-wide. In itself the explosion may not have been of much significance to the host nations except for the following reason: the impact of the explosion continued to be felt in the period when educational systems throughout the world had come under increasing budgetary constraints (as a result of the general economic malaise that had beset most countries) beginning in the mid-seventies.

It is as a consequence, therefore of this confluence of two sets of factors that voices of concern began to be raised among the host nations (with the exception of the U.S.S.R.) at both the actual population increases, as well as the costs that these

<sup>7</sup>In the U.S. for example it is estimated that over 98% of all foreign students are privately funded. (This figure was submitted by the Chairman of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, as part of his testimony at a Congressional hearing—U.S. Congress, Senate, 1985:641.)

<sup>8</sup>Throughout this essay the general approach will be to discuss policy with respect to those foreign students who come from what is generally known these days as the *Third World*, and what use to be known in the past as the developing world. This group of students today forms the bulk of the foreign student population in all major host nations. It should however be further noted that while discussion will tend to reduce this category of foreign students to a homogeneous group, in reality it is far from so. Third World foreign students may in many respects share similar traits when compared to host country students, but they also exhibit deep differences amongst themselves. This is a fact that is often lost in discussions about foreign students. Thus a foreign student from say Brazil, while probably sharing similar English language difficulties with a foreign student from say Taiwan, is however very different from his Taiwanese counterpart in cultural terms.

nations were incurring in behalf of the foreign students (since almost all students in all educational systems receive free or subsidized education). Thus, for example, the most obvious and dramatic instance of a country that felt it had on its hands a severe foreign student "problem," and hence required formulation of a specific policy response is Britain. As a consequence of pressures for domestic fiscal restraint within the education and treasury departments in Margaret Thatcher's government, Britain imposed in the fall of 1980 measures aimed at charging international students what it considered as 'full-cost' tuition.

Britain of course has not been alone in imposing significant differential fees for foreign students, either as a means of curbing entry or as a means of raising revenue (or both). For example, in Australia for the first time (beginning in 1980) foreign students were asked to pay what is called an annual 'visa-charge'. Up until then, because higher education students did not pay tuition fees in Australia, foreign students were, like their Australian counterparts, receiving tuition-free education. Institutions in Canada, similarly, have over the years imposed on international students differential fees ranging from 50% to 300% above of what local students pay. In Europe, other countries besides Britain have also imposed fiscal or other measures to reduce international student populations. They include Belgium, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece and Italy.

Fiscal pressures alone however have not been responsible for all the 'protectionist' measures that the industrially advanced nations have recently imposed against the inflow of international students, over two thirds of whom come from Third World countries, that is countries with racially distinct populations. As the Committee on Foreign Students and Institutional Policy of the American Council on Education noted in its report: "There is no denying, moreover, particularly where a link has been made between foreign student admissions and immigration policy, that some motives of racial and ethnic discrimination lie behind certain actions." (American Council on Education, 1982:24) It may also be pointed out (as Chandler, 1985, notes with reference to Britain) that the sometimes false perception by government officials of lack of a 'lobby' to fight for the interests of foreign students, in some of these nations spurred politicians and government officials to advocate or undertake protectionist measures. By the end of the seventies, clearly, politicians in almost all advanced industrial nations hosting large foreign student populations had, in the words of one observer "discovered foreign study" (Fraser, 1984: 116).

### 3 Population: Policy Issues at the National Level

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When can it be considered that a nation's higher educational system has reached a saturation point in terms of the foreign student population? While various figures are mentioned (5,10,15,20, per cent of the total enrollment) very few countries (or states in a federal political system) have actually proposed general, if not specific, numerical figures. One country that has specific population limits is New Zealand, which strangely has taken the paradoxical route recently of lowering its differential fees for foreign students by a third. However its quota figure of 2500 total foreign students at any one time in its institutions remains unchanged. The Australian Committee on Foreign Student Policy in its report *Mutual Advantage* (Australia, Government, 1984) recommended that during the period 1985-1990 all Australian universities and colleges work toward either increasing or decreasing their undergraduate foreign student population to arrive at the figure of between 5 and 10 percent of their total undergraduate student enrollment. And that none of them encourage enrollments in any single undergraduate course that went beyond 25 percent of total student enrollment. The actual policy that the Government eventually announced in 1985 on enrollment quotas is close to that recommended by the report: enrollment in any institution may not exceed 10% of total enrollment, and 20% in any single course.

In the U.S., one state that recently tried to limit the total population of international students in its higher educational institutions was Arizona. If the bill introduced by the State legislature had passed it would have required the international student/professors intake not to exceed 10 percent of the total student/faculty population and 25 per cent in any single department in a given institution. (*Chronicle of Higher Education, February 19, 1986*) Recently, the Commission on the Future Development of the Universities in Ontario (the Bovey Commission) in its report<sup>9</sup> to the Government of Ontario (Canada) recommended that for the sake of 'the quality of the educational experience' arrangements should be made 'to ensure that the proportion of foreign visa students do not fall below 5 per cent of total enrollment.' (Ontario, Government, 1985)

Once some kind of national numerical threshold has been established for the foreign student population there remains the question of the most effective method of arriving at the threshold. One method chosen by some countries in Europe (such

<sup>9</sup> *Ontario Universities: Options and Futures*, (released in January, 1985.)

as Austria, Belgium, and Switzerland) has been to institute a stringent *numerus clausus*. However the more well known route has been to impose fee increases, as in the case of Britain. One of the measures instituted in France by the Imbert Commission (officially known as the Commission Nationale pour l'Inscription des étudiants étrangers) toward the end of 1979 are interesting to mention in that it points to alternative ways by which population inflow can be curbed (besides simply taking the market route of raising tuition fees—which France in any case does not charge any of its students—local or foreign). This measure required international students to pass a French language examination in their home countries before they could be granted a student visa. A qualifying language examination of course is not something new; many institutions in the U.S. for instance, at the behest of the Immigration authorities, have for years required foreign students to pass an English as a second language test, but not necessarily within their home countries. What is new in the French case is the explicit use of it for the purposes of curbing international student inflow.

### 3.1 Foreign Students and Immigration Laws

Interestingly it should be noted, the U.S. is one of the few nations with large foreign student populations that has not sought to curb the inflow of foreign students. On the contrary there seems to be effort underway on the part of the U.S. government to encourage this inflow—for foreign policy reasons (as evidenced for example by recent legislative action (see Section 3.2 below)). It appears that what has been of greater interest to the U.S. government with regard to student numbers however, has been the problem of maintaining 'control' over the visa status and movements of foreign students within the country—a problem that some feel is more illusory than real. This is certainly the position taken by the Catron Report.<sup>10</sup> The report states that a large-scale first-time-ever study undertaken by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of a specific group of non-immigrants (Iranian students<sup>11</sup>), clearly revealed that the majority of foreign students maintain their legal status as students. For example, only 4% of the Iranian students were served with deportation orders. The report then goes further to suggest that in these days of budgetary constraints the INS can be more cost-effective in its activities if it spent less time monitoring students, and instead concentrated on other control activities

<sup>10</sup>The Presidents Management Improvement Council Report on Foreign Students in the United States. Prepared by Council member Dr. Bayard L. Catron. (Catron 1982: 310-348)

<sup>11</sup>The study was prompted by the Iranian hostage crisis



such as border control and investigating places of employment. However, illusory or not, the large increases in foreign student populations experienced until recently in most host nations has produced a concern within that branch of government that deals with non-immigrants. This concern has sometimes been reflected in tighter regulations to monitor the movement and status of foreign students. In general there are two major areas in which problems of visa status compliance can arise: employment, and length of stay.<sup>12</sup>

Most host countries do not permit non-immigrants to engage in employment, and this includes foreign students, in order to protect the local job market. (Though provisions usually exist to allow foreign students to seek employment because of exceptional financial difficulties arising after the student has commenced studies. This is certainly the case in the U.S., and to a limited extent in Canada and U.K. as well.) While no accurate figures are possible to generate as to how many foreign students are working illegally in the U.S., there is speculation, according to the Catron Report, that perhaps as many students work illegally as those working legally. If this is so, then in the U.S. roughly one fifth of the foreign student population is legally and illegally engaged in employment. Given that the foreign student population is infinitesimal compared to the U.S. national labor market, and given that the INS has other more important priorities, the Catron Report recommends that in this area a policy should be developed that strikes the middle ground between granting on one hand blanket work authorization to all foreign students, and restricting employment authorization to only those who convincingly demonstrate economic necessity. This middle ground policy can take the following form: allow any foreign student to obtain employment via certification from a university official upon meeting the following condition: the student is not enrolled in a program of less than one year duration, has successfully completed his/her first year of study, his/her adviser certifies that employment will not adversely affect his/her full-time student status, does not work more than 20 hours per week when the university is in session, and certifies that he/she has full intentions of maintaining bona-fide student status. This recommendation has obvious relevance for other host nations as well. It may be further noted here that there is need to educate the public on the fact that the few low-skill jobs lost to foreign students are more than compensated for

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<sup>12</sup>In the U.S. there is a third area: failure to obtain prior permission to transfer to other institutions. Infringements in this particular area however, will in future be considerably minimized with the implementation of new regulations. The new regulations will shift the monitoring responsibility on to the institutions themselves, making it easier for the students to let the INS know of their whereabouts.

by the many benefits that the foreign student presence brings—intangible though some of them may be.

Turning to the issue of the length of stay, most host nations operate a “date certain” departure policy. That is a specific period of time within which the student must complete his/her studies is indicated on the student’s visa. Since many foreign students, often, do not complete their studies on time for a variety of reasons: educational, personal emergencies (such as illness) ; or alternately the decision to pursue further studies; etc., considerable paperwork is generated because of their need to apply for extensions of their length of stay. With reference to the U.S. (and this applies elsewhere too), the Catron report states that a preferable policy would be to institute a “duration of status” visa policy. That is a student would not be subject to departure as long as the student maintains his/her status as a bona-fide student, which the institution that he/she is attending can easily verify, and remains in compliance with all pertinent non-immigrant regulations. Such a policy would not only minimize considerable loss of time, energy, etc. that entail in processing extension applications, but would also remove the misplaced responsibility of determining the educational merits of a request for extension of stay from the hands of the INS.<sup>13</sup>

Clearly, in this particular area of foreign student policies, examination of the two issues indicate that governments of host nations should strive to not only minimize burdensome and often costly bureaucratic paperwork, but also avoid the over-regulation of foreign students. This twin objective can be best met by forging a policy that while mandating immigration authorities to institute procedures that allow them to access to basic, reliable, and timely information about a foreign student with respect to their name, nationality, and place of study, does not at the same time however usurp decision-making responsibility of a strictly educational character from the hands of institutions that the students are attending. In its testimony before a Congressional hearing the *National Association for Foreign Student Affairs* stated this point thus:

*NAFSA believes that the interest of students, educational institutions, and the public are compatible and can best be served by a system which allows maximum freedom to students and schools, but which ensures that students who fail to maintain a full course of studies as defined by their schools are promptly identified to INS by the school and that INS act*

<sup>13</sup>Ironically, while a limited form of “duration of status” policy has been in effect in the U.S. for a few years now, contrary to the recommendations of the report, INS is about to change its regulations so as to reinstitute the old departure date certain policy, for reasons of its own



*promptly and uniformly against such students to cause their departure from the country or a change in immigration status. Such a system would place the primary responsibility for maintenance of status on the student, the responsibility for reporting within carefully defined guidelines on the schools, and the responsibility for enforcement on the INS. (Olson, 1982:331)*

### 3.2 Unintended Consequences of Fiscal Measures

Coombs (1985) makes the important point that any type of fiscal measure (aimed at curbing student inflow or raising revenue or both), has the unintended effect of discriminating against poor countries at the international level, and at the individual level against students from poor families. These measures, in other words, help to reinforce income and other income related economic disparities between nations and among groups of individuals (classes) within nations.<sup>14</sup> It should also be noted that such fiscal measures help to skew the national distribution of the foreign student body in the direction of specific countries, such as the oil-rich countries—something that most host country educators have tended to decry in their preference for a more evenly balanced international student body (For example regarding this very matter the Commission on Foreign Student Policy in Canada states in its report (Canadian Bureau for International Education 1981(a):49) that Canadian institutions should adopt admissions policies that would encourage an even representation of foreign students, in terms of geographical or national origin.

Solmon and Beddow (1984) draw attention to an important negative effect on the educational process itself, of fiscal measures that skew enrollments in the direction of the well to do. They suggest that when socio-economic status becomes the overriding criteria for admission, then it is possible that ability will receive less attention. The consequence of this would be a general reduction of the academic quality of the student body and curricular programs. One way to mitigate this, and the wealth-bias effect just mentioned, is to develop some sort of positive discriminatory fiscal policy, as is the case for example in Belgium. There a fairly unique situation prevails. Even though it is a member of the European Community, students from the Community (unlike in other Community member countries), have to pay the

<sup>14</sup>Decrying this negative outcome of the fiscal measures introduced by many of the Western host nations he further comments: "...something serious and sad happened in the late 1970s to the great tradition of generosity and evenhandedness the Western nations had always shown toward qualified foreign students whatever their means of origin." (p.328)

same tuition rates as international students from non-Community member countries. But in imposing this differential fee-rate (in 1976) the Belgians have excluded those international students coming from those developing nations that it considers poor (some 41 in all). (Williams, 1982:264-65). Britain has also announced plans to assist poor students from Commonwealth countries with what it calls a shared scholarships, to come and study at British institutions. This scheme would cover only privately sponsored "bright but poor" students. While the Government would share half the cost of the scholarships, selection and admission decisions would be in the hands of the institutions who would be expected to make up the other half of the cost. The Government agency that would administer this shared-scholarship scheme is the Overseas Development Administration. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1985)

In the U.S. as well, effort seems to be underway to assist Third World countries to send their less privileged students to study in the U.S. via U.S. government scholarships. This is an outcome of an increased awareness of the fact that while the U.S. does host a large foreign student population from the Third World, it is to a great extent middle class in composition, that is representing the privileged few in these countries. Thus explaining some of the rationale behind the U.S. Scholarship Program for Developing Countries bill (which became Public Law 99-93 on August 16, 1985) one of the sponsors of the bill, House Representative Jim Wright of Texas put the matter this way:

*It is almost axiomatic that the exchange of peoples across national boundaries helps to build bridges of peace. That's a basic principle. In the field of student exchanges, our experience tells us that the United States, which is host annually to 300, 000-plus foreign students, certainly has no shortage of these students. But we do have a shortage of foreign students who come from financially disadvantaged homes. Those of us who support a new undergraduate scholarship program believe strongly that the cause of international peace and understanding will be strengthened if students from all economic strata are able to study in the United States. That's why we have developed the requirement that participating students must be financially needy and academically promising.*

Similarly the Kissinger Commission on Latin America, in calling for a program of 10 000 U.S. scholarships for Central American students to study in the U.S., specifically pointed out in its report the need to target students "from all social and economic classes" (Kissinger Commission, 1984:87)

It is necessary to stress, however, that even where government scholarships are available from host nations for poor students from poor countries, such scholarships may still not assist the truly needy but academically able students. This is because these scholarships are often made available via bilateral aid agreements with governments of the home countries. And, as is often the case, financially disadvantaged students in these countries are either under represented (or not represented at all) among those awarded the scholarships, because of either deliberate corrupt practices of the relevant government bureaucracy—aimed at favoring the children of the ruling elites—and/or as a result of the usual workings of a highly class/ethnic polarized society that characterizes these countries. A solution to this problem would require the host country to insist on the implementation of an award mechanism that would be genuinely impartial (with regard to the applicants' high-level government connections, political influence, etc.), concentrating exclusively on the twin criteria of financial need and potential academic performance. Such a mechanism would necessitate minimal or no control over the awards by the home government. The United States Scholarship Program for Developing Countries Act has, it appears, provisions for such a mechanism.

There is another category of foreign students whose financial needs also merit special attention, and a number of European nations according to Smith (1984:117) are showing signs of responding to these needs. These students are *political refugee* students, that is students who are forced to seek political asylum—often but not always, midstream in their studies—because of political events at home. The magnitude of this problem can be determined by the fact that in the United Kingdom for example, over the past ten years or so, approximately 32 000 refugees have been given asylum, (in any one year over 60 countries may be represented among those applying for refugee status), and students form the bulk of these refugees. (World University Service, 1986). A recent report in the United Kingdom<sup>15</sup> that labels these students as the 'forgotten students,' identifies a number of very serious problems that refugee students face in Britain (and one suspects a similar situation prevails elsewhere among major host nations). The report observes that the policy of charging foreign students full-cost fees has helped to whittle away whatever little assistance that refugee students used to get. The report calls for a number of policy measures that institutions and the government can adopt to assist refugee students, *as well as other non-refugee foreign students facing temporary but severe financial*

<sup>15</sup>World University Service (1986). The report was produced by the Working Group on Educational Assistance to Refugees (working under the auspices of the U.K. branch of the Geneva based World University Service).

*crises brought on by circumstances beyond their control*—e.g. drastic devaluation of their home currency, or failure by their national banks to permit timely money transfers.<sup>16</sup> including the following measures that are of potential relevance for the situation of refugee students in other host countries:

- (1) institutions should develop a positive foreign student refugee policy, such that the students studies should be allowed to progress with a minimum of disruption while his/her financial difficulties, visa status etc are being sorted out. The report recommends that institutions establish a 'hardship fund' for such students.<sup>17</sup>
- (2) counseling and advising procedures should be set up by institutions for students who are seeking asylum. With regard to this the report further suggests, that some among those who deal with foreign students within the administration should be given special training as refugee counselors/ advisers, so that they have a better grip on the special problems that refugee students face and ways of overcoming them.
- (3) The host government should provide matching grants to institutions and voluntary agencies that have established hardship funds for asylum seekers, from a fund set up specifically for this purpose. A modified scheme of this type exists in Canada for example, where the Canadian Bureau of International Education receives a grant from the Canadian Government to disburse to needy foreign students facing a financial emergency. The funds, however, are disbursed with the provision that local sources match the grant to the student in cash or kind. Application for the grant is made by a school official on behalf of the student. The student is not allowed to make the application. No student receives more than one grant. Other conditions that the applicant must meet to qualify for application include: Third World origin and the willingness to return to the Third World upon completion of studies; the student must be close to completing his/her studies—or if this is not the case then must have access to future financial sources sufficient for the student to complete studies; and the student must have a valid student visa.
- (4) The host government should establish a fund to assist foreign graduate students who are forced to seek refugee status during the course of their studies, to enable them to graduate.
- (5) Provisions should be made to temporarily allow foreign students facing an emer-

<sup>16</sup>For more details on this particular category of students see Working Party on Crisis and Hardship Arrangements for Foreign Students, 1985.

<sup>17</sup>In this regard perhaps it would not be inappropriate for institutions to establish some sort of a refugee insurance policy similar to a health insurance policy. For as with illnesses, no foreign student is as ever assured that he/she will not become an inadvertent victim of unforeseen political events at home—requiring an application for refugee status. Such an insurance policy would take care of the financial needs of the students until completion of their studies, or until the situation at home returns to normalcy (which ever comes first).

gency crisis to have access to state provided welfare benefits, e.g. foodstamps, and other similar social welfare assistance. (6) A scholarship fund should be established by the government, so that scholarships can be made available to those students who may be termed as *quasi-refugees*. These are students who while showing educational promise tend to be excluded from consideration for scholarships by their governments (even in cases where the scholarship scheme is part of a bilateral training aid program funded by the host country), for reasons of discrimination based on race, religion, political beliefs, etc. Generally but not always these students come from minority groups in their countries. (Examples of such groups of people include Blacks in South Africa and Namibia; East Indians in Malaysia, East and Southern Africa, and Guyana; Muslims and Sikhs in India; and Blacks and Native Americans in some of the Latin American countries.) (7) Provisions should be made by the government for extending educational training assistance to external refugees within their region of residence, as well as providing scholarships for training outside their regions of residence. At present the following groups should be provided with such regionally based assistance: Afghan and Palestinian refugees, Central American refugees, South African and Namibian refugees, and refugees in the Horn of Africa.

### 3.3 Foreign Policy Implications

The problem that stems from trying to curb international student populations, is that even in contexts of rising fiscal pressures (and the related demands for a decrease in international student populations), broader national interests of forging amicable and mutually advantageous relations with nations abroad may assume considerable importance. It is not surprising therefore, that in almost all cases where special commissions have been set up or conferences held to consider the 'foreign student question' one of the general conclusions reached has been to call for moderation in protectionist measures. Hence for example the European Rectors Conference at its 22nd session in Grenoble, in 1981 passed the following resolution among others:

*"the CRE [European Rectors Conference] urges the European governments, in collaboration with their universities, to facilitate the international mobility of students, and thereby enhance international understanding . . . with regards to the developing countries and their nationals, to increase and substantially improve the reception of qualified students from these States, especially of those students who, despite European universities' overseas development programs, are unable to find in their*

own countries the desired higher educational facilities." (OE, Permanent Committee, 1982: 66)

Sentiments, not far off from these have also been expressed in the Australian report *Mutual Advantage* (Australia, Government, 1984); the Canadian Report *The Right Mix* (Canadian Bureau of International Education, 1981(a)); the report on institutional policy by the American Council on Education (1982), and the British report by the Overseas Students Trust (written on its behalf by Williams (1982).

Referring back to the British case, here again the full-cost fee policy which was at once an effort to cut costs (by raising additional revenue from foreign students themselves), as well as an attempt to curb the numbers of foreign students coming to Britain (the aim here was to stabilize the foreign student population to approximately 1975/76 levels), the policy had to be modified slightly. For within a short space of four years 1979/80 to 1983/84 the magnitude of the international student population dropped by nearly 40 percent (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1985:45). The ramifications of this drop was felt not only among specific individual institutions, but also in terms of national interests. According to Peter Williams there was clear evidence that Britain's policy did "tangible harm" to Britain's goodwill, diplomatic, and other national interests. It is without question the perception of this negative outcome that eventually led Britain to modify its fiscal policy somewhat and introduce in 1983 a measure to provide tuition assistance scholarships to selected international students. The number of foreign students receiving some form of British Government financial aid has jumped from 9 000 (in 1980/81) to 16 600 in 1984/85—comprising now about a fifth of the total foreign student population in Britain. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1985:37) If one turns to the Australian case, it will be seen that the decision to impose the annual visa charges on foreign students was motivated initially less by the desire to curb student numbers and more with simply raising revenue. And, according to the Government, the purpose for this move was to enable Australia to assist Third World countries in meeting their training needs by *increasing* its foreign student enrollment, but without additional burden on the Australian tax-payer. (Fraser:1984) (Today however the situation is changing, worried that its liberal policies on foreign student enrollment may lead to a shortage of places for its own local students, Australia has announced substantial increases in the visa charge—by 1986/87 academic year to reach 45 percent of a full cost tuition fee.<sup>18</sup>)

<sup>18</sup>Additionally, the Government has begun to permit universities to admit foreign students on the basis of a full-cost fee charge. Admission of such students does not have to be within the



Of course perception of the extent to which foreign policy interests would be advantageously served by a specific population policy is a determinant of the particular ideological leanings of the government of the day. Thus for example in France, with the election of the Francois Mitterand Government, the restrictive measures on international student entry into France that were in effect during the period when the conservative government of M. Giscard d'Estaing was in power were liberalized; country quotas were abandoned; and the Imbert Commission (officially known as Commission Nationale pour l'inscription des etudiants etrangers), which had introduced many of the restrictive measures, was abolished. (Chandler, 1985) The Mitterand Government felt that the short term economic gains from the Imbert Commission measures would translate into long term losses for the country with respect to its foreign policy interests.

The foreign policy implications of curbing international student inflow can be perceived even more acutely when one turns to the case of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., both of whom are actually trying to increase the inflow of foreign students. The recent U.S. effort to provide scholarships for poor Third World students is in part a response to the perception by the U.S. that the Soviet Union is doing far more than the U.S. is in this particular area. As the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy states in its 1985 report, one of the objectives of this effort is to "prevent American higher education from becoming the exclusive privilege of affluent youths from areas so vital to U.S. security," (U.S. Congress, Senate, 1985: 627) especially given the context of what the report perceives as an expansion of Soviet bloc scholarship programs in Latin America in recent years. The fear obviously is, as in fact a U.S. Congress General Accounting Office study (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1984) on this very matter makes clear, that the U.S.S.R., by providing scholarships to less privileged students, who but for lack of money would most likely prefer to study in a Western country, is making a long term investment in these students—upon returning home the U.S.S.R. hopes that these students, according to the study, will form a leadership core for Marxist revolutionary movements. Most of the sponsors of the Senate/ House bills that produced the U.S. Scholarship Programs for Developing Countries Act were also motivated, in part, by the desire to meet what they felt was a Soviet challenge in the area of cultural diplomacy. As Representative Jack Kemp of New York explained, there was a need for a program that could tell the world that the U.S. was also interested in educating Third World children of the poor, and that this activity was not a monopoly of the Soviet bloc countries. (U.S. Congress, House 1985) In fact the Act itself specifically refers to

enrollment quotas established by the Government

the disparity between the number of Soviet and U.S. Scholarships for Third World foreign students, noting that the disparity is in favor of the Soviet bloc countries which therefore "...entails the serious long-run cost of having so many of the potential future leaders of the developing world educated in Soviet Bloc countries." (Section 4702, item no. 6 of Public Law 99-93, *U.S. Code*)

In discussing the foreign policy implications of various policies on foreign students it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the area of foreign policy interests is not amenable to the kind of hard-data analyses that economists prefer. Much of the process of identifying foreign policy gains that are supposed to accrue from enrollment of foreign students has to remain at the level of gut-feeling. There is simply no research method yet available to measure such gains in terms of concrete data (and in fact given the nature of the matter it is probably not possible to develop such a method). The problem is further compounded by the fact that much of the foreign policy gains attributable to foreign student enrollments, falls within the area of what is referred to as *public diplomacy*<sup>19</sup>. Public diplomacy is different from traditional diplomacy in that it is diplomacy involving citizens of nations rather than governments and their foreign ministries. In this citizen to citizen relationship, it is the intangible power of ideas and opinions that is the basis of the 'diplomacy,' and not concrete political diplomatic exchanges characteristic of traditional diplomacy. Consequently, it is not surprising that when it comes to the matter of asking for budgetary appropriations for purposes of promoting public diplomacy via international educational exchange activities, or making pleas for restraint on enacting measures aimed at curbing the inflow of international students, the response of governments has generally been less than satisfactory. Juxtaposed against the tangible hard economic data of other budgetary priorities, the intangibles of foreign policy gains of foreign student enrollments simply do not carry as much fiscally persuasive force. Not surprisingly, while the U.S. Congress for example, has shown some unprecedented legislative initiative recently to develop scholarship programs for educational exchanges, these programs remain largely underfunded.

#### 4 Population: Institutional Issues

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When looking at the matter of student numbers, it is also necessary to observe

<sup>19</sup>See section below on public diplomacy



that the issue cannot be left simply at the level of national figures, but must also involve examination of population distribution at the institutional and departmental levels. Taking the case of Australia for example, one finds that the population distribution of international students is skewed in the following manner: while the Australian National University for instance had over a third of its total graduate student population coming from abroad in 1982, James Cook University on the other hand only had slightly over a tenth of its graduate enrollment comprising foreign students in the same year. (Fraser, 1984) A similar situation is readily observable within the U.S.. For example, while universities such as George Washington University, Stanford University, and North Texas State University had foreign students in the 12-13% range of their total enrollment, the percentage range for universities such as Arizona State University, Purdue University and Rutgers University was only 3 to 5%. (Institute of International Education, 1986)

The response, lately, of those institutions with what is perceived as high foreign student enrollments has been to begin imposing quotas or limits on foreign student enrollment. A study done in Canada (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 1981) notes for example that over half of the institutions that responded to a survey placed some limitations on international student enrollment; either in terms of aggregate numbers or in terms of percentages of university-wide total student enrollment. (Some institutions, such as the community colleges in Ontario admit foreign students only if space is available after other Canadian applicants have been given first priority, while some institutions (such as the community colleges in Saskatchewan and British Columbia) bar self-sponsored international students altogether.) The study notes that the number of university level institutions that place restrictions on enrollments as a proportion of the total student body are few, compared to those that place restrictions on enrollments in selected high-demand fields of study (e.g. medicine, engineering, pharmacy, etc).

Restrictions on field specific enrollments are a response to the highly uneven distribution of foreign students across disciplines. This is a phenomenon replicated in almost all the major host nations. Hence for example in Germany, nearly a third of its foreign student population is to be found in the Engineering sciences (Williams, 1984:267); in England over a half of all foreign students are in Science, Engineering, or Technology fields (Williams, 1982:21); and the same is the case in Canada. (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 1981(a):30) In the U.S., close to half of all foreign students are to be found in the same fields. (Institute of International Education, 1986:33) In the Soviet Union more than 80 percent of foreign students from developing nations are in either engineering, agriculture,

medicine or economics (Eliutin, 1985:143).

The general policy outcome of this type of uneven population distribution in these countries has been similar to that found in Canada: imposition of quotas or other measures to restrict international student enrollment. Thus for example at Monash University all international students (other than those sponsored by the Australian government) are barred from enrolling in the Faculty of Medicine. In Switzerland, the University of Basle stopped accepting new international students in any field beginning with the 1980/81 academic year; while all other Swiss universities stopped accepting new international students wishing to pursue studies in the fields of Medicine, Dentistry, and Veterinary Science. With respect to numerical barriers, it is interesting to note that in the case of some countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany and Denmark, there are quotas of places that must be reserved specifically for international students in those fields where quotas operate for all students (that is including home students). For West Germany it ranges from 6 to 8 per cent, and for Denmark it ranges from 10 to 20 per cent (depending upon the field). In some countries, such as Britain, the preferred route to curbing international student enrollment in oversubscribed fields of study has been to use a fiscal measure: a differential fee rate.

Three further points need to be noted in this matter: *first* is that it is precisely the fields that host country governments feel need to be protected from proportionately large enrollments of international students that are of most relevance to the development needs of the Third World nations. It is for that reason that these fields are over subscribed by international students. Evidence for this comes for example from a number of pre-conference surveys that the Institute of International Education commissioned for its 1979 conference on curricular needs of Third World students in the U.S.. (See Myer and Taylor, 1979) This survey found that at the top of the list of fields that were of most interest to Third World countries were the following six in order of priority: Agriculture, Engineering, Business Administration, Health Care, Economics, and Science. *Second*, at the graduate level in many institutions (in countries such as the U.S., Canada, Australia, and to a limited extent even Britain), any extensive diminution of international student numbers would jeopardize the very survival of some of the science, engineering, and technology departments. While this should provide all the more impetus to reduce such a level of dependency, the task is not that clear-cut. This is because the dependency is not entirely a result of economics (foreign students are cheaper to hire as teaching/research assistants<sup>20</sup>), or demographics (falling population levels of

<sup>20</sup>This is not to imply that departments impose differential rates of stipends for foreign and local

local college-age students), it is an outcome of other factors too, specifically incentives. To elaborate: in many of these countries local students are simply unwilling to undertake graduate (especially doctoral) level studies because in the context of a fairly elastic labor market (at least for engineers and doctors for example), income foregone while pursuing doctoral level studies can amount to a phenomenally large figure. (See the report by the Business-Higher Education Forum (1982) with respect to the case of the U.S. in this regard.) *Third*, appropriate educational organizations and agencies should consider encouraging those institutions that can but have not traditionally enrolled foreign students to participate in the international educational exchange process. Similarly efforts by appropriate recruiting agencies should be made to acquaint potential foreign students of educational opportunities at such alternative institutions.

## 5 Economics: Policy Issues at the National Level

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The British decision to require foreign students to pay what it called *full-cost* tuition fees, drew attention to a matter that in the days when foreign student numbers were relatively low was of little significance: the matter of economics (more precisely, the issue of educational subsidies). Therefore inextricably linked with the issue of population figures is the question of economics—specifically the amount of subsidies that the foreign students consume, and whether these subsidies are justified by the benefits (whatever they may be) that the foreign student presence is supposed to generate. It has always been known that the tuition fees that students pay to educational institutions do not usually cover all the expenses that these institutions incur in educating them. In other words taxpayers usually subsidize the education of all students, even in fee paying institutions. The question therefore has arisen as to how much of this subsidy should foreign students be asked to cover via their tuition fees. In Britain the government was adamantly convinced that the subsidy

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students. Rather the suggestion here is that if reliance was exclusively on local students then there would have to be a marked increase in stipend levels to offset (albeit to a limited extent) the poor economic rates of return to graduate education that local students face these days. For a further discussion of this latter point—about rates of return—see Hossain (1983); Freeman (1975); Rumberger (1980), and also the testimony of the Chairman of the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers, Edward J. Doyle, to a Congressional subcommittee. (U.S. Congress, House, 1985(a))

to foreign students was too large to ignore, and hence its decision to impose on them what it called a *full-cost* tuition fee. In actuality the term is a misnomer, because what the British government has ended up doing is charging foreign students fees calculated on the basis of average costs and not marginal costs.

This distinction between marginal and average costs in matters of cost-benefit analyses of the international student presence is an important one. For if the problem is to assess capacity in educational institutions and ways and means of using excess capacity, or conversely, reducing excess pressure on limited capacity, then analysis must center on the calculation of marginal costs—that is the additional cost of either adding or subtracting a student from the total student population. If, on the other hand, the issue is to determine how much subsidy that the institutions must receive (from whatever source, public or private), then it is the average cost that is of importance. And since marginal costs tend to be higher than average costs in situations of excess population pressure, as is the case with respect to international students, full-cost tuition fees calculated on the basis of average costs cannot in practice be considered as full-cost tuition. Certainly in the case of Britain, Blaug (1981) convincingly demonstrates that a genuine full-cost tuition rate would have been much higher than the one that has been based on average costs.

The matter of calculating costs of the foreign student presence (and against which benefits must be calculated and compared), as one can surmise from the foregoing, is indeed a difficult one. Even the concept of cost itself is not as straightforward as one would think. And certainly it is not the same as that understood in common parlance: namely monetary expenditures for a given item (accountant's cost). In economic cost-benefit analyses, cost implies comparing between costs of different alternatives, hence the cost of a given item/service would be the cost of the best *alternative* item of benefit foregone in procuring the given item/service. Then there is the question of returns to scale, which of course is intimately related to the matter of marginal versus average costs. That is up to a certain point, because of the nature of the educational enterprise, output will tend to increase proportionately more than increases in inputs (resulting in falling costs per unit output); but beyond that point the reverse will hold true.

The complexity of calculating cost-benefit analyses also stems from the many variables involved, some of which are almost impossible to quantify. For example cost calculations involve determination of not one cost of education but many different costs depending upon the number of different fields of study since their costs tend to vary, (generally social science courses entail lower costs than those in the natural

sciences<sup>21</sup>), as well as different levels of study (undergraduate education generally incurs a lower cost than graduate level education); they involve determination of cost relationships between enrollments and teaching on one hand, and enrollments and research on the other; and so on.

### 5.1 Costs Versus Benefits

On the benefits side, calculations have to be made for such straightforward matters as the amount of fees brought in to enhance the institutional budget on one hand, and on the other the overall negative or positive foreign-exchange contribution that the foreign students make (in the form of tuition fees and other related expenditure) to the national economy. Thus, for example, Blaug calculated with respect to the national economy of Britain, that given its particular economic circumstances, an input of additional foreign-exchange into its reserves did not really mean much in economic terms, other than that international student spending helped to push up local aggregate demand. And from this perspective, the benefit is not unequivocal because it must be seen in the context of what the government of the day considers as the lesser of the two evils: unemployment or inflation. (For further details see Blaug 1981:80-84).

Another benefits calculation that Sims and Stelcner (1981) point out is the benefit derived from the failure of some foreign students returning home upon completion of their studies. And as for determining the value of foreign students to a host-country with respect to such matters as: the generation of future export orders for host country goods via those alumni of host-country institutions who have returned home, or the foreign-policy benefit of having such alumni hold top-level government posts in their home countries, or the educational benefits to local students of contact with students from other cultures, etc., quantifiable calculations of this value is practically impossible. In this case some will probably want to argue that since the benefit is not measurable it does not exist. Though of course others

<sup>21</sup> As Solmon and Beddow (1984) demonstrate with respect to the U. S. this is no insignificant matter. The fact that foreign students tend to concentrate in fields such as the engineering sciences, Solmon and Beddow show that the education of foreign students tends to carry disproportionately larger costs relative to their numbers. However, they also caution that unlike in the case of countries such as Britain (prior to 1980), most foreign students in the U.S. do not receive subsidized education because of the high tuition fees they pay. They for example show that in 1980/81 academic year approximately 23.5 per cent at the bachelor's level; 18 per cent at the Master's level and 20.4 per cent at the doctoral level paid less than the cost of their education; but the rest paid the full cost of their education. (p.20)

of a less economic mind would counter that even if such benefits are not quantifiable, they nevertheless do exist. Certainly two recent studies (Goodwin and Nacht, 1984, and Zikopoulos and Barber, 1984) conducted by the Institute of International Education provide evidence in support of this position.

From the perspective of the nation (or state in a federal system) as a whole, the general economic question of undertaking cost-benefit analyses of the presence of foreign students is not that if it was determined, in strictly monetarist terms, the costs far outweighed the benefits an automatic policy of barring further entry of foreign students into the country would have to be instituted. Rather the issue is that whatever other reasons that may be adduced in favor of the presence of foreign students (e.g. foreign-aid, foreign policy interests, etc.) they must be made explicit and convincing to the tax-payer. In fact as Sims and Stelcner explain "...there is little hope of ever accurately measuring all of the social benefits of foreign students." (1981:24)

## 6 Economics: Policy Issues at the Institutional Level

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If the matter of the economics of foreign student presence is examined strictly from the perspective of institutions, then without any doubt in almost all cases institutions tend to benefit financially from the presence of foreign students. They benefit either directly in the case of those institutions that have tuition fees as part of their general income—e.g. U.S. universities, and British universities<sup>22</sup>— or indirectly in the case of those institutions that receive government grants on the basis of their total student enrollment—e.g. French or German universities. Consequently, it is not surprising that many institutions, especially privately financed institutions (whose dependence on tuition-fee income tends to be greater than public institutions for obvious reasons), have tended to encourage further enrollment of foreign students through various recruiting measures. Even countries such as Britain with very few private higher educational institutions have now had to undertake explicit recruiting drives—something that British universities usually did not do in the past.

In terms of institutional policy, fiscally determined pressure to recruit larger numbers of foreign students (who it must be noted bring in more money per indi-

<sup>22</sup>This is especially since 1980 when government funding for the universities began to be reduced on the understanding that they would make up for it through increased tuition charges for foreign students



vidual student enrolled because of differential fee rates<sup>23</sup>) raises a number of issues: one of which has to do with ethics. Jenkins (1983) notes for example, that in recent years a number of institutions in the U.S. have given student recruitment—a respectable age-old practice in the U.S.—a bad name by their exclusive concentration on quantity (numbers of foreign students recruited) rather than quality (possession of appropriate educational entry qualifications). Fortunately this has not been a widespread practice, and there are signs that it may be abating as a result of the public outcry against such practices once they have come to light. However what this issue points to is the delicate balance that institutions have to strike between their need to recruit foreign students, and the need to maintain an educationally high caliber student intake. Policy measures that can assist institutions in striking this balance include: development of proper administrative mechanisms (involving among other things competent administrative personnel) for evaluating international student credentials; avoiding contractual agreements with those entrepreneurial recruiting agencies that also charge the students themselves fees for their recruiting services; making tangible educational qualifications the ultimate criteria for admission; and ensuring that the international student applicants are made fully aware of not only the costs involved (tuition, residence, etc.) but also the curriculum offerings of the institution.<sup>24</sup> Another measure that institutions may adopt is joining an international (home country) interview program. These are programs organized jointly by participating university departments in a given discipline (e.g. physics, chemistry, etc.), where interviewers are sent out to various home countries to interview prospective foreign students intending to study the given discipline in the host country. Information on potential applicants that is obtained via these face-to-face interviews is then made available to the participating departments. The advantage of joining such a co-operative home-country interview program is two-fold: academically it enhances the effectiveness of the admissions process considerably, and economically it lowers the cost of sending interviewers abroad for each individual participating department.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup>With respect to the U.S. one qualification is necessary here. Foreign students (in many states) pay the same tuition rates as U.S. out of state students.

<sup>24</sup>For details of other safeguards that institutions may implement, see Jenkins, 1980(a).

<sup>25</sup>The National Association for Foreign Student Affairs can place university departments in the U.S., interested in these programs, in touch with the relevant program organizers.

## 6.1 Institutional Costs

An important policy issue in recruitment that is sometimes not examined carefully by administrators is the matter of institutional (monetary) costs that ensue from the enrollment of foreign students. If recruitment drives are to be successful then a fairly comprehensive recruiting infrastructure, which requires money, will have to be developed. The principal components of this structure would include knowledgeable personnel to process application forms; evaluate international credentials; write and produce target-specific brochures and other publicity material, etc. Some universities have however begun to charge foreign students, especially sponsored foreign students, specific fees aimed at recovering some of these administrative monetary costs.<sup>26</sup>

### 6.1.1 Student Services

Administrative costs do not however stop merely at the recruitment level. Additional costs have to be incurred following the arrival of foreign students on campus because of their specialized needs. In fact the complexity of the needs of foreign students are such (well documented by many such as Lee and others (1981); Althen (1983)), that most institutions in the U.S. and some in Canada, that have significant numbers of foreign students have had to establish within their bureaucracies an office exclusively concerned with the needs of foreign students. They provide advising and counseling services; meet legal obligations, mount orientation programs, assist with housing and medical services, and so on. In other words an infrastructure to take care of post-recruitment needs of foreign students has to be developed. As the Canadian Bureau for International Education (1981) notes, in this matter, there is no turning back, once foreign students are admitted.

An interesting development regarding this matter is the recent effort by a number of European countries, e.g. Britain, to develop systematically for the first time student services for foreign students, such as guidance and counseling services. Traditionally, unlike in most institutions in North America, European universities in general with the exception of a few, have not provided student services exclusively oriented toward the foreign student—at least in the form and extent familiar in North America. The impetus for this development seems to have come from the need to attract and retain foreign students as their numbers have begun to dwindle over the

<sup>26</sup>See for example Patrick, 1983, who provides a fairly detailed overview of the nuts and bolts of admitting foreign students, and the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (1983.)



past few years. Coming back to the matter of institutional costs, it is important to stress that those institutions that do not already have such a recruitment/post-recruitment infrastructure will find that the initial costs may be prohibitive—and this is especially when it has to be considered in the context of an area of student recruitment in which there are few certainties given that the inflow of international students from abroad depends as much on availability of places in host country institutions as on economic and political fortunes of the home country. Take for example the case of the U.S. and students from Iran (which was among the largest suppliers of students to U.S. institutions until 1981.) Following the revolution in Iran and the subsequent souring of relations between the U.S. and Iran, the outflow of Iranian students to the U.S. began to drop and has continued to do so. To take another example: the recent downward trend in the price of oil on the world market, (in the past few months alone the price has dropped by more than 300 percent) has meant that the numbers of students coming from the oil rich countries (until recently a very significant growth area for student recruitment—even in the face of rising tuition rates), has also taken the same path. The case of China is another interesting example. Two sets of events: first the visit to China by U.S. President Richard Nixon in the fall of 1985, and the failure of the so called *Gang of Four* to inherit power in China following the death of Mao ze Dong have given rise to a phenomenon hitherto unknown. the movement of thousands of *communist* students to Western industrialized nations for graduate study.<sup>27</sup> (For an account of this phenomenon with respect to the U.S. see Hawkins, 1984)

One question that arises with regard to student services is the matter of surcharges. That is, should foreign students be asked to pay extra fees to help recover part of the cost of providing student services. The response to the question ought to be a qualified no. As Rogers (1984) explains: since foreign students tend to be academically low-risk students, more likely to be above average in performance levels, and less likely to delay completion of their studies, they cannot be treated on par with other non-traditional students. Generally non-traditional students tend to entail higher costs than traditional students because of the special support services

<sup>27</sup>Recent U.S. statistics published by the Institute of International Education (1986) on foreign student enrollment provide support for the trends just mentioned. Thus in the 1985/86 academic year for example, the total number of students from Iran fell by 15%, those from Nigeria fell by 25.4% and the drop for Venezuela was 32%. At the same time the 0.5% increase in total foreign student enrollment for the same academic year was made up entirely of students from China, together with a number of other Asian countries. Today, in the U.S., China ranks as the 7th largest supplier of foreign students—which places it one rank below Iran (which itself a decade ago used to be rank. 1st), and one rank above Nigeria (which a decade ago ranked 3rd).

they require.

## 7 Graduate Student Policy Issues

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When examining the matter of foreign student recruitment, it is necessary to make a distinction between recruitment of undergraduates and graduates. This distinction is necessary not only because it is likely that in the future the pool of potential undergraduate recruits is going to shrink as Third World nations develop their own higher education institutions, but also because in practice recruitment at the graduate level takes on a more specialized form with its own peculiarities. For example, at this level the issue of quality takes on an inordinate degree of importance, relative to the matter of quantity. Solmon and Beddow (1984). The pattern of skewed graduate enrollments (in favor of foreign students) in selected fields such as engineering and computer sciences in almost all major host countries (as indicated above) is not unrelated to the problem of insufficient demand among local students for graduate level studies—especially at the doctoral level. But it is also true that recruitment of significant numbers of foreign students has been motivated by the desire to recruit the best talent available regardless of national origin (Chandler, 1985:ix), and since much of this talent is willing to accept stipends at levels below those that the local students would find acceptable, it has proven fortuitously propitious for the departments concerned. It has allowed them to stretch their assistantship dollars, at a time when departmental budgets have generally come under financial constraints. (See Nelson 1975). In terms of policy implications (of foreign *graduate* enrollments), there are four principal areas of concern to universities: the matter of academic standards; the issue of English language competency of foreign teaching assistants; the 'problem' of intelligence security in relation to research assistants; and the question of allowing access to financial aid.

### 7.1 Academic Standards

One of the key policy questions that has arisen in the area of international graduate student recruitment, has been the issue of standards. The matter has generally been raised by those not directly involved with teaching and research in the relevant fields—people such as students, their parents, politicians, and sometimes faculty from other disciplines, all of whom have felt that the increasing numbers of foreign

students must be the result of weakening admission, performance, and graduating standards. (See Goodwin and Nacht, 1983; and Solmon and Beddow, 1984) Those who work closely with international graduate students know that this is not the case. As the Associate Director of the the U.S. Information Agency Ronald Trowbridge (1984:15) noted in his testimony before a Congressional Sub-committee, "Foreign students who study in the United States are among the best qualified students studying outside their own countries." In fact given the level of stiff competition among international graduate students for the limited places available in the relevant fields, there has been a general upward rise in admission standards (Mc Cann, 1986). On this matter, it is necessary to concede one point: there is a feeling (but one that has no basis in any specific research) among some that in those institutions where enrollments of a certain number of foreign students is absolutely critical to the institution's financial well-being, some lowering of standards has occurred. An article in *New Society* (May 16, 1985) for example, notes that some British universities have proceeded to lower entry qualifications and performance standards for foreign students so as to encourage foreign student enrollment in their universities. Yet on the other hand, a study by the State University of Ohio (Ohio Board of Regents, 1982) found a strong correlation between high foreign student enrollments, and the research output of the ten highest ranked research universities in the U.S.. At the very least what this shows is that the high foreign student enrollments in these universities did not affect adversely their research output and reputation as top research universities. Rogers (1984) states in his article, *Foreign Students: Economic Benefit or Liability*, that studies conducted at Indiana University indicate that "the overwhelming majority of foreign students who meet regular standards for admission perform at (or more typically) well above the academic norm." (p.20)

## 7.2 English Language Competency and Foreign T.A.s

In recent years in the U.S., and in Canada (which are among the few nations whose institutions hire large numbers of teaching assistants), more and more of the teaching assistants have tended to be international graduate students (a consequence of the triple factors of insufficient local applicants, economics, and the high educational caliber of international students). Students, parents, and politicians, in the U.S., have voiced concern over what they have felt as the poor language abilities of many of the teaching assistants. As one angry parent wrote:

*I have a young son who is a freshman at UCLA [University of California at Los Angeles] and who is having one "one hell of a time" as a result of*

*an inability to obtain understandable help from his assigned TAs [Teaching Assistants] in calculus and chemistry. He has even changed classes in an attempt to improve the situation, only to find himself faced with another TA who is unintelligible. This is a totally unacceptable learning situation....As an overburdened taxpayer, I know of no good reason why I should be subsidizing the education of foreign students—send them home.<sup>28</sup>*

This concern has been such that in some cases state governments have become involved. For example recently the State of Ohio passed legislation mandating that foreign teaching assistants pass English proficiency tests, and the state of Arizona is contemplating doing the same. The State of Florida passed its legislation on the matter three years ago. The State of Missouri passed its legislation only recently (April 30, 1986) and it requires universities not to appoint foreign TAs during their first semester of study; mandates them to provide foreign TAs a "cultural orientation" course; and requires them to submit a biennial report on foreign TAs to the Coordinating Board of Education. To some degree (as a number of contributors note in Bailey, et al, 1984) this problem—that is the supposed inability of international teaching assistants to communicate with their students—is a subjective one. Many local undergraduate students, especially those with poor motivation and academic skills, faced with highly competitive and demanding fields (such as Engineering) have tended to show impatience with teachers possessing accents different from their own—and essentially targeted them to be their scape-goats for their own poor academic performance. Yet, however, this does not explain all the hue and cry one has seen in recent years regarding this matter.

There are some international teaching assistants, especially those coming from countries where English is not the medium of instruction in educational institutions, who are in need of remedial English training. Consequently the following are among some of the policy responses that have been made by a number of institutions: new international student teaching assistant appointees are being asked to take a mandatory English language test that measures oral communication skills. (Two of the more commonly used tests are the TSE (Test of Spoken English) administered by the Educational Testing Service and SPEAK (Speaking Proficiency English Assessment Kit) developed and sold by the Educational Testing Service.) This test is additional to TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language administered from Princeton,

<sup>28</sup>Quoted in Bailey (1984:5). See also Hinoftis and Bailey (1980)

New Jersey) that most institutions require foreign applicants<sup>29</sup> to take before being allowed to study. Another policy trend has been to raise the minimum acceptable aggregate score for the TOEFL exam for teaching assistant appointees—usually to 550, and in some cases even 600.

While it is true that where there is an objectively verifiable serious communication difficulty between foreign teaching assistants and their students, poor English language competency of the assistant is quite often the culprit, but this is not always so. There may be other factors involved too: principally that of culture. As Pialorsi (1984), and Rice (1984), point out, even though the issue of language seems to be the dominant focus of attention by both foreign teaching assistants and their students, quite often the real source of the communication problem is the failure on the part of both the teaching assistants and the students to comprehend and appreciate each other's differences in classroom cultural practices. Pialorsi cites the example of differences in the concept of teacher authority. Many foreign teaching assistants come from cultures where the teacher is regarded as the center of authority in the classroom, yet in many U.S. universities students will display little regard for the kind of social distance that the foreign teaching assistant expects of them. The reason in part, is that many of the students come from public high school backgrounds where the teacher has all but lost his/her traditional authority, and in part it has to do with the relatively low status that the teaching profession is accorded in the U.S. compared to many Third World societies. Zukowski/Faust draws attention to another example: the tendency by foreign teaching assistants to over rely on technical jargon specific to their fields which while appropriate for purposes of communicating with peers and their professors, is not so when teaching undergraduates. (For further details on the problem of classroom culture see Sadow and Maxwell, 1982; and Lulat and Weiler, 1986). What all this points to then, is that remedial programs for foreign teaching assistants have to go beyond simply raising language competency levels. It is necessary to develop comprehensive communication skills programs for their foreign teaching assistants—and some universities have already begun to devise such programs (see Turitz, 1984), which comprises a third policy response to the so called foreign teaching assistant problem.

Attitudes toward foreign teaching assistants may perhaps be positively enhanced if they were hired to also teach material pertaining to their cultures and societies. As a report by a team at the University of Alabama notes: "Research indicates that some U.S. students decide they will have difficulty understanding their instructor simply upon learning that the instructor is an international. This attitude can be

<sup>29</sup>That is those for whom English is a second language

changed slowly, but only through U.S. students' increased contact with people from other countries in both educational and social settings." (Quoted in Bailey 1984:4) There is no doubt whatsoever that those who teach undergraduates of the present generation must deal with a "new" resurgence of racism and intolerance among them. Of course it must also be noted that the so called foreign T.A. 'problem' can be blown out of proportion to the detriment of the entire T.A. system. Perhaps a better policy approach to the problem would be one suggested by Fisher (1985). Fisher notes that given the ambiguous hierarchical position of all T.A.s —part student, part teacher— (foreign and non-foreign alike), it would make better sense to develop a training and evaluation program for all T.A.s, and within this program to have courses that are specifically targeted for foreign T.A. needs. In this way not only will the caliber of all T.A.s (as teachers) receive a boost; but also render more meaningful to the foreign T.A. the process of undergoing English language screening, tutoring, etc., (which must surely represent an added burden to the normal graduate study load—and a burden that does not necessarily guarantee classroom success in the absence of broader training for effective teaching). A comprehensive T.A. training program in other words, recognizes that the need for the 'professionalization' of the T.A. staff does not stop short of language remedial programs for its foreign T.A. component.

### 7.3 Intelligence Security

Increasingly, governments in the advanced industrial nations such as the U.S., Solomon and Beddow (1984) note, are expressing concern about allowing foreign students to study or assist with research in what they consider as national security sensitive research areas. For example in early 1981, symptomatic of this "ominous shift to secrecy" (as *Business Week* (1982) put it), the Reagan administration issued new guidelines pertaining to Defense Department sponsored research aimed ostensibly at preventing foreign students from becoming involved with research that was of potentially high strategic significance from a military perspective. Universities found these guidelines to be so broad (they render discussions with any foreigner about research that may lead to improvement in the state of the art of U.S. military technology, (note that virtually all kinds of technological research—basic and applied—qualifies in these terms), without first obtaining permission from the State Department, a federal crime!), that a number of top level research universities felt compelled to protest. Thus the Presidents of California Institute of Technology, Cornell University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford University, and University of California wrote a letter to Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger, and



the then Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, objecting to the imprecision of the guidelines. (For more details see Dickson, 1981, and 1981 (a); Lamarsh and Miller (1980), and the U. S. General Accounting Office, 1980.)

The concern over intelligence security has been prompted by two basic developments: one is the election to power of conservative governments in a number of host countries, with their greater proclivity to secrecy; and two the generally larger numbers of foreign students being hired by universities to work as research assistants. This concern however does not seem to be shared by most faculty in the relevant disciplines. For the most part their attitude rightly or wrongly, is that since much of the research that universities conduct is 'basic' research there really are no threats to national security interests involved in the hiring of foreign graduate research assistants. (See Lamarsh and Miller, 1980) However despite general misgivings by university faculty about rules that mandate nationality to be one of the criteria for hiring graduate research assistants by those from outside funding university research, faculty have usually gone along with the rules. And there does not seem to be any uniform policy by universities on this matter even though it is clear that such rules clearly violate the principle of non-discrimination on the basis of nationality that almost all universities in most host nations are required by their charters/constitutions to abide by.

In addition to the question of research assistantships, the report by the U.S. General Accounting Office (1980) on the matter of weapons proliferation, as well as the article by Lamarsh and Miller (1981) raise the more general issue of allowing foreign students access to all parts of a university curriculum. That is some within government circles have raised objections against allowing foreign students to undertake courses in fields such as nuclear engineering on the grounds that the students may then contribute to proliferation of nuclear weapons around the world. In fact there is an executive directive on this with respect to at least one group of foreign students in the U.S.: the Libyans. Thus at the behest of the Secretary of State George P. Shultz, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service issued on March 11, 1983 the following rule: Libyan nationals, and third country national acting on behalf of Libyan entities were henceforth to be barred from engaging in aviation or nuclear-related education or training in the United States, because such education or training was deemed by the Secretary of State to be detrimental to the security of the U.S.. (See the *Federal Register*, vol. 48, no. 49, 1983.)<sup>30</sup> Lamarsh

<sup>30</sup>Commenting on this directive, William F. Lee in a letter to the *Washington Post* (March 23, 1983) noted that at the very least the effect of this ruling was to force the Libyans to turn to the Soviet Union for education and training in aviation and nuclear physics. He further states: *It is*

and Miller however, in evaluating this security concern find that it is without basis. They state (to use their words): "...the great majority of foreign students are neither nuclear mercenaries nor secret agents." (p. 30) More over they convincingly show that whatever training that foreign students may receive in the field of nuclear engineering, or any other engineering field for that matter, is such as to be of extremely limited practical value, given its essentially theoretical character. They also note that "...government interference in the university education of foreign nationals would do such violence to the spirit of free scientific interchange...that it is difficult to foresee any consensus forming around such a policy." (p. 30)

#### 7.4 Financial Aid

Should foreign students have access to institutional financial support—specifically in the form of scholarships and assistantships? Should host country institutions restrict competition for these avenues of financial support exclusively to local students (as is usually the case with respect to state financed scholarships, and other financial aid programs)? The general practice, in most host countries around the world it seems, has been to award these scholarships on a competitive basis without regard to national origin. Hence for example in Australia, with the exception of one university (the University of Western Australia, which requires that no more than 25 per cent of available scholarships can go to foreign students), all universities allow foreign students to compete for graduate scholarships. In 1983, close to half of all graduate scholarships went to foreign students. And when seen from the level of individual institutions, the figure for some institutions becomes even more dramatic. Take for instance the Australian National University, more than 70 per cent of its scholarships went to foreign students, and the same was true for the University of Sidney. In some countries, such as Canada, Governments will mandate that a certain percentage of state scholarships be reserved exclusively for international students. For instance the Government of the Province of Manitoba sets aside 10 per cent of its graduate scholarships for foreign students. Other Canadian provinces that do the same are Ontario and Quebec, though the percentage varies. An interestingly unique example of providing financial assistance to needy but outstanding foreign students comes from the State of Oregon, in the U.S.. (See section 9.1 below) That the universities should use their institutional funds for attracting some of the best minds and talents

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*difficult to imagine a move more calculated to engender hatred, bitterness and mistrust toward this country in the minds of young Libyans and others from the Third World who—whatever the policies or rhetoric propounded by their governments—look to the United States as a beacon of individual liberty, academic freedom and professional excellence.*



available from around the globe, is of course a policy that almost all institutions of higher education have come to consider as an essentially sound educational policy, even if it may at times rankle local students, parents, and politicians.

On the matter of financial aid for foreign students attention must also be directed to three other special categories of students: refugee students, and quasi-refugee students (discussed in section 3.1 above), and those foreign students who are qualified to pursue higher-education studies but happen to come from poor families—and hence without financial aid cannot undertake further studies. In fact, in his testimony before the U.S. Congressional Sub-committee hearing on foreign students, the Vice President of the Institute of International Education, David R. Smock (1984) stated that this reason alone provides sufficient ground to ask for increases in Federal government appropriations for foreign student scholarships. (See also section 3.1 on this matter.)

## 8 Policy Implications of Home Government Concerns

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So far discussion in this overview has been from the perspective of *host* countries rather than *home* countries. To some extent, this is a problem of dearth of research and information available with respect to *home* country policies on the overseas study of their students. However from what little literature there exists on this, one can discern three basic concerns of *home* country governments, that have implications for policy on foreign students within the *host* country: (1) the issue of finances, (2) the issue of curricular relevance; (3) second-language training needs; and (4) the need for bilateral training-aid programs.

### 8.1 Finances

For *home* country governments the issue of finances revolves around the problem of expending scarce foreign exchange resources on expensive overseas study. Faced as they are with fiercely competing claims on their resources from industry, agriculture, business, etc., etc., (given that the economies of a vast majority of them depend on imports of almost everything from raw materials through machinery to finished goods), many of these countries are watching in dismay the steady increases in tuition rates that their students are being asked to pay. Consequently countries such as Britain, and France have had to make some policy response toward this concern

which has been vigorously communicated to their governments by officials of many Third World governments. In fact following the tuition fee increases in Britain, Malaysia introduced what it called a "Buy British Last" policy aimed at hurting the British export trade with Malaysia. Recently, the Prime Minister of Malaysia in a speech before the 30th Colombo Plan Consultative Committee Meeting (held in Kuala Lumpur in early November 1984) declared:

*It is disheartening to see that sometimes, under pressure of national, social, economic or political conditions, some Governments make decisions within a domestic framework which consciously discriminate against developing countries and also undermine international cooperation....The charging of high tuition fees and imposition of restrictive quotas for students from abroad are examples of this rather short sighted trend. I would like to remind the affluent members that their short-term gain in terms of fees, etc., cannot offset their long-term loss of goodwill. (Quoted in Selvaratnam, 1985:319)*

And as a result, both Britain and France have modified to some degree their policies concerning finances, and numbers—as was indicated above. What this shows is that *host* country governments will find that there is a limit to tuition increases beyond which arbitrary tuition increases will result in diplomatic protests and more importantly, falling student numbers as *home* country governments look elsewhere for their students to go to. So far, by and large, it has been a sellers market in this area of tuition increases, and perhaps it will remain so for some time to come. But given the inexorable pressures on *home* country governments (considering the state of their economies and the burden of servicing their ever rising international debts) to conserve scarce foreign exchange, Third World governments are likely to curb outflow of students (regardless of whether they are privately or state funded) if they are unable to obtain some sort of foreign assistance.

A novel idea that has been suggested by some (such as Jerry Wilcox of Cornell University) to partially alleviate the foreign exchange problem that Third World countries face, is to enable foreign students to pay their tuition fees and other costs in their own currency in their own countries to an agency set by the universities to administer the receipt and disbursement of such payments. And an equivalent sum would be made available to the students in the *host* country by the *host* institutions for their tuition/subsistence needs. The universities in turn would use the local (*home* country) receipts to fund travel/ study/ research trips of their own staff and students going to these countries. It may even be possible to get the *host* country

governments involved in this by getting their embassies to take charge of receiving the local payments—in which case the embassies may be able to use the money for their own local expenditures, and reimburse the universities in equivalent home currency. Needless to say, this idea if ever implemented, would not take care of the foreign exchange needs of all foreign students, but it would certainly be of help in alleviating this need.

It may be noted that a modified version of this concept is to be found in the International Student Exchange Program (ISEP) based at Georgetown University in Washington. This program begun in 1979 and funded mainly via a grant from the U.S. Information Agency (to cover administrative costs), enables a reciprocal exchange, usually of one year duration, of university-level students between U.S. and foreign institutions. In this program no money transfers take place because the students pay all their expenses, including tuition, room and board, to their home institutions, while attending an ISEP institution. Student exchanges do not have to be restricted to bilateral exchanges, as multi-lateral exchanges are also permissible—as long as a numerical balance is maintained between incoming and outgoing students. Upto 1984 a total of 1435 U.S. students had participated in this program, 15% of whom had gone to ISEP institutions in the Third World. The ISEP network incorporates some 130 institutions in over 25 countries. (For further details on this program see description in the U.S. Congress, House, 1985:157-66.)

It is also possible, as Selvaratnam (1985) points out that the protectionist measures that the Industrialized nations (with the exception of the U.S.; the U.S.S.R., and to a limited extent Australia and New Zealand), have adopted may provide an impetus to Third World countries to look for ways and means of developing their own graduate level programs in their own institutions. But this option does not extend to all Third World countries since some of them, the smaller one to be specific, do not even have universities. And even those that do have universities are finding that under the pressure of falling economic growth rates, maintenance of existing educational facilities is proving enormously difficult let alone expanding them.

One other option that may spur Third World countries to exercise more vigorously is to send their students to other Third World countries that already have relatively advanced higher educational systems, such as China, Egypt, and India. This would still entail loss of foreign exchange but it would be considerably less than that lost when sending students to industrialized nations in the West. (India for example does not discriminate between home students and foreign students in its fee policies). Of course the viability of this option would depend on the degree of willingness of Third World host nations to accept more foreign students than they

presently do. It should be noted that there is increasing support among International aid agencies to encourage Third World foreign students to go to other Third World countries, not only because it is financially less expensive, but also because it is hoped that their studies would be curricularly more relevant than is generally the case in the industrially advanced *host* countries.

## 8.2 Curricular Relevance

Given the enormous gap, in terms of technological achievement, between the Third World and the West generally, the relevance of education obtained in the West to the development needs of the Third World, has been questioned many times, by both students and their *home* governments. This was clearly evident for example, from a survey that the Institute of International Education did in 1979 on the curricular needs of Third World countries by mailing out questionnaires to selected U.S. embassies in Third World countries; selected embassies of Third World countries in the U.S.; and selected alumni of U.S. institutions who have returned home. (See Myer and Taylor, 1979) What then are the major areas of weakness that Third World countries perceive of Western education, as far as their particular needs are concerned. It seems that there are four basic areas of concern: (a) program content; (b) course content; (c) graduate research; and (d) practical training.

### 8.2.1 Program content:

In many cases the curriculum does not address the needs of Third World students. That is the type of courses offered in a program are geared exclusively to the needs of local students, even where a sizable foreign student population is present (as is usually the case at the graduate level in fields such as the Engineering sciences.) One study (involving the administration of questionnaires to nearly 200 deans of graduate engineering programs in U.S. universities) by Stephen C. Dunnett on behalf of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs for example, found that while almost all concerned agreed that foreign graduate engineering students needed training in management skills, very few graduate engineering programs actually did anything to meet this curricular need. The reason why foreign students particularly need to have this training stems from the fact that Third World environments place heavy demands on an individual's resourcefulness, creativity, and initiative in both the individual's managerial capacity as well as his/her technical capacity, given the dearth of skilled personnel and lack of adequate infrastructural resources.

It should be emphasized that the problem here is not that what foreign students encounter in their graduate programs is all entirely irrelevant, but that it is inadequate in the sense that these programs of study do not include courses that specifically address the development problems of Third World countries.<sup>31</sup> Therefore while no one questions the inviolability of the basic core curriculum that all students (foreign and local) must successfully complete, there is however failure by universities to imaginatively construct curricular programs that can offer complementary but mandatory courses to foreign students developed on the basis of a rich and varied panorama of *cross disciplinary* curricular resources that already exist in almost all *host* country universities that enroll sizable foreign student populations. In other words, as a report of a U.S. workshop on curricular relevance (National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1980) noted, that even while accepting that ultimately the curricular needs of local students must take priority when developing programs of study, it is still possible to also take care of the needs of foreign students on the basis of an imaginative use of *existing* resources. Note that this point also addresses the fact that the concept of curricular relevance itself is not a static one but a dynamic one. What may be relevant today for foreign students from a given region may be irrelevant tomorrow. Hence for example, nuclear physics may have been irrelevant to the needs of students from India in the 1950s, yet today it is definitely not.

### 8.2.2 Course content:

The problem of curricular relevance has also to do with no or insufficient effort on the part of instructors to incorporate material in their courses and lectures that addresses experiences of the Third World generally. Now while it is true that some fields are more flexible, especially those in the social sciences in this regard, there is still considerable room for maneuverability in those courses in the hard sciences that are concerned less with theory than with application. But of course the problem is not simply one of the nature of the field of study, it is also the problem of lack of resources to hire faculty with the requisite knowledge and desire to introduce a Third World perspective in their courses. One recent development brings up an interesting question regarding this matter: the progressive dearth of local PhDs in the Engineering sciences has begun to be reflected in the increasing number of for-

<sup>31</sup> An excellent example of a course that can fill this kind of a void is one designed by Maloney for senior chemical engineering students. For more details and an actual course outline, see Maloney (1976).

foreign born faculty being hired to teach in this area. The question that arises then is do these newer faculty members make attempts to modify their courses to suit the requirements of their foreign students. The answer, pending formal investigation, must remain at the level of conjecture, and it is that they do not. One possible explanation for this lies in the belief, held by at least some, as Myer (1979) notes, that any modification of the curriculum may be perceived as an inferior offering to the foreign student. (This argument, comments Myer, is the counterpart to the argument offered against appropriate technology.) One can surmise that perhaps some of the foreign born faculty also share this belief. There is also the possibility that foreign born faculty feel that modifying their course content may lead to deleterious consequences for their own teaching careers— especially if it is perceived (correctly or incorrectly) that there may be resentment from local students. Added to this, there may also be the factor of an inferiority complex. Foreign born faculty may feel that their courses should not in any way deviate from the pattern set by the local born faculty, lest they (the foreign born faculty) be judged by both peers and students as incompetent. At this point, however, all this must remain at the level of conjecture.

### 5.2.3 Library Resources

A problem not usually mentioned, but never the less present in many institutions, was highlighted by a recent study of academic advisors' perceptions of foreign student *academic needs* at Washington State University. This study found that second from the top of the priority list of academic needs of foreign students, was access to home country material for student use. (Jimmerson, Trail and Hastay, 1985: 8) Many libraries of institutions that do not have formal Third World graduate study programs, quite obviously, give a low priority to acquisition of library material of relevance to Third World students. Therefore even though the institution may have a sizable foreign student population, both, foreign students and course instructors, find that their efforts to orient some of their courses toward a Third World focus, frequently run up against the problem of dearth of relevant library material. While it would be unreasonable to expect universities that do not have formal Third World study programs, to attempt to acquire material on the Third World that is not usually available from traditional library vendors, libraries of such institutions ought to be encouraged, however, to at least acquire Third World library material that is easily available—usually that produced by publishers among the major *host* nations. Additionally, as the study just mentioned notes, where institutions enroll



sizable proportions of officially sponsored foreign students, the institutions should consider asking sponsors to contribute to a library fund specially set up to acquire Third World library material. At the same time, both, advisers and foreign students should be apprised by libraries of the existence of inter-library loan systems (such as those operating in Britain, U.S.A. and Canada), which will allow them access to holdings of those libraries elsewhere that specialize in Third World material.

#### 8.2.4 Graduate research:

There is evidence (see for example the survey of alumni in Myer and Taylor, 1979) that on average only about half of doctoral students conduct research for their PhDs or Masters thesis on questions of relevance to their *home* countries. Yet graduate level research is perhaps as important, in terms of usefulness to one's overall education, as course work. Part of the explanation for this lies in the fact that chairpersons of PhD committees often do not feel that they are knowledgeable enough to supervise research on problems specific to the student's *home* country. Another explanation lies in the basic problem of logistics: it simply requires too much time and effort to supervise a student doing field work thousands of miles away, and possibly doing it in a country where the mail is slow or just unreliable. Then of course there is the usual pattern of doctoral studies where the student becomes involved with his/her adviser's own research concerns. Thus, it is not an uncommon practice for students to conduct doctoral research in areas that are also of considerable interest to their advisers (especially if there is financial support involved—via a research grant that the adviser may have received); and in fact were, most likely than not, directed (not necessarily in the coercive sense) toward doing their doctoral research in the given area by their advisers in the first place.

The net consequence for the Third World countries of having their students do research in areas of little or no relevance to their needs is twofold: it implies that there will be insufficient stimuli for the development of a corpus of relevant research work from which knowledge of the development problems that these countries face can be derived, especially since it is quite likely that doctoral students upon completion of their studies will continue to pursue research interest in the same areas in which they wrote their PhD dissertations. Second, it is quite likely that those students who conduct their doctoral research in areas where there is little or no interest in their own countries, but on the contrary is of considerable interest in the *host* country (for example cold or polar regions research, and space flight research), will be tempted to remain in the *host* country and not return home. In either case it im-



plies that Third World countries do not receive the maximum benefit from spending scarce foreign exchange resources on the education of their students abroad.

### 8.2.5 Practical training:

Time and again students and their *home* governments have expressed the need for a practical dimension to be added to their overall education. That is, they desire to be afforded the opportunity to do practical work for a period of time, after obtaining their degrees, in what may be termed the laboratory of practical experience: the work-place. The following quote from a response by the Tanzanian embassy to the survey that is described in Myer and Taylor (1979) is indicative:

*The post- secondary institutions could serve my country's manpower development more effectively if they would give them a chance to have practical experience . . . The U.S. should provide a chance for foreign students, during the summer, to get experience in their fields. The students are not necessarily interested in the money. . . but they are indeed interested in the transfer of technology. A country like Tanzania needs practical knowledge and experience in solving its problems . . . (p. 55)*

Ironically, the U.S. is among the very few countries in the world that do allow foreign students an opportunity to have practical training upon completion of their studies. They are allowed to apply for a permit of 12-18 months duration depending upon the visa category, to work in a job related to their field of study.<sup>32</sup> However, locating the job is up to the student, and generally there is no special institutional support available to the student to assist in locating the job. In terms of overall education, immersion in the real world of work, is to put it mildly, without alternative, as a means for providing both practical skills necessary to translate theoretical knowledge into immediately useful day to day practical knowledge; and the knowledge of the organizational aspects of the work-place.

However the fact that so few countries allow foreign students to obtain such practical experience stems from the fact that it inevitably implies entry into the local labor market. And this raises the whole issue of competition with local labor for scarce jobs. At a time when the citizenry of *host* nations are unwilling to show almost any tolerance for aid to developing countries, and hence the effort to raise tuition fees, etc., it is absolutely unlikely that they would allow their governments

<sup>32</sup>New regulations, if adopted, proposed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service will allow students to do their practical training during their course of study if the student desires this.

to give permits to foreign students to seek work, even if for only limited periods of time. In Britain for example, foreign students are not allowed to even volunteer their time freely to a given off-campus work place (such as a hospital). Unpaid volunteer work presumably poses an even greater threat to local workers in terms of employment opportunities.

The discussion of the issue of curricular relevance, to conclude this section, must also include mention of the following two points: in many instances foreign students who come to pursue either masters or doctoral level studies do not have even the haziest idea of what area of research they will intend to specialize in within the broad area of the discipline they intend to study. In other words there is insufficient preparation within the *home* countries of students going to study abroad as to what they intend to study, in terms of specific research targets. If the Third World countries are concerned about curricular relevance and wish to make maximum use of their money then as a first step it is necessary that their students know more than simply the fact that they intend to obtain a PhD in, say, electrical engineering. They need to know in what specific area within electrical engineering they intend to do their research. For one obvious consequence, of course, of not knowing one's preferred area of specialization within a given field is that quite often one ends up in institutions that may not have faculty with relevant research interests, when such interests do materialize.

Second, it is not uncommon for foreign students to deliberately decide to specialize in areas that are of little relevance to the needs of their countries but are of considerable relevance to the needs of *host* countries, with the explicit purpose of enhancing the market value of their degrees within the *host* countries. A student, for example, studying for a PhD in economics, who has absolutely no interest in pursuing research in any aspect of the broad area of development economics, is most likely not intending to return home upon completion of his/her studies. In other words the issue of curricular relevance also touches upon the question of which foreign students' needs one is talking about; and this also has implications for another major area of concern that *home* governments have with respect to policies of industrialized nations on foreign students: the concern over 'brain drain'— that is the loss of trained personnel to *host* nations. (See section 9.2 below)

### 8.3 Second Language Training Needs

A number of countries that host large numbers of foreign students have developed training facilities to provide language of instruction training to foreign students

coming to study in their institutions. Such students typically come from nations where the given language of instruction is not in common use. These countries include Britain, the Soviet Union, United States, West Germany, and so on. While many of the issues that are raised in this area concern such matters as explaining the second-language acquisition process, identifying variables that facilitate or impede this process, locating organizational elements that make up a successful training program, etc.; from the perspective of *home* country governments the major concern seems to focus on the issue of economics. That is they are concerned about how best to strike a balance between the need to provide educational training to the largest number of students in the shortest possible time on one hand, and on the other the continuously rising expense of providing second-language training to these students.<sup>33</sup>

It is clear for example, that second-language training provided in a student's *home* country is much less expensive than training provided in the host country. However, whether *home* country training is more cost effective than *host* country training is a moot point. There are too many variables, such as the following, that tend to mitigate against rapid acquisition of the second language when it is offered in the student's *home* country: The first language environment provides insufficient opportunities for the student to practice his/her second language, not to mention the usual distractions that are associated with such an environment. The training is often less concerned with proper acquisition of the second language than performance on language tests—leading to inflated test scores, that is scores that have minimal correspondence with actual language competency levels. Training facilities may not be adequately staffed with competent teachers. Not surprisingly then, much of the second-language training takes place at *host* country institutions.<sup>34</sup> Yet even in the *host* countries provision of second language training is not without its difficulties. Thus a seminar organized by the Office of International Training of the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs on 'English Language Training and Sponsored Students from the Developing

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<sup>33</sup>This concern is not restricted to *home* country governments alone. Sponsoring agencies within *host* countries are also concerned about this. (See National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1984)

<sup>34</sup>This is not to suggest that second language training in *home* country institutions is not possible. In fact given proper planning, resources, and technical assistance from *host* country institutions, it is possible to develop sound second-language training centers in the *home* country. This for example is being done, albeit on a limited scale, in Malaysia with assistance from the State University of New York at Buffalo.

World,<sup>35</sup> pinpointed the following concerns, among others, that sponsors of foreign students have: (a) The proliferation of different English language training programs (some 200 in the U.S.) has made it difficult for sponsors to select appropriate programs. (b) There is often insufficient information on what the programs entail and whether universities accept them as part of degree credit requirements. (c) There is failure to recognize the fact that different competency levels are required for different study programs—e.g. undergraduate level training requires a lower competency level of some language skills than graduate level training. (d) Better methods of diagnosing the second language training needs of students are required so that sponsors can plan and budget for such training before the student arrives in the host country. (e) Sponsors need to be kept informed of a student's need for additional language assistance after the initial language training is completed—that is when the need becomes manifest.

#### 8.4 Bilateral Training Programs

The issue of foreign aid also includes discussions on technical aid via bilateral training programs—the third major concern of Third World governments. Increasingly in recent years, there has been a tendency for universities in industrialized countries to enter directly into agreements with Third World governments (independently of their own national governments), to train Third World students. This trend is an outcome of the desire on one hand, by universities to increase their foreign student enrollments—essentially for revenue purposes—and on the other, the desire by Third World governments for trained personnel, at a time when foreign aid from the governments of industrialized nations has been dwindling. An example of such agreements are those entered into by units of the State University of New York system with the governments of such countries as China,<sup>36</sup> Indonesia, and Malaysia to train their students in a variety of fields, including engineering, education, and so on.

Most of these bilateral agreements it appears are being concluded by universities on an ad hoc basis without recourse to any set of policy guidelines. And while the agreements appear to have a basic symbiotic core to them (meaning they they appear to be mutually advantageous to both parties), it is necessary to caution that unless policy guidelines are developed 'costly' mistakes can ensue from such agreements. Among the mistakes that a well conceived set of policy guidelines

<sup>35</sup>See National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1984.

<sup>36</sup>The China program is partially funded by the U.S. Government

would help to prevent include: (a) the failure to ensure that before any agreement is entered into, the university is fully aware of its capacity (in terms of personnel and physical resources) to meet or not meet the needs of the government in question—and if the latter the appropriate action that must be taken to meet the requirements of the agreement; (b) the failure to see that appropriate curricular programs that the foreign students from the country in question need, are already in existence; (c) the failure to ensure that the academic qualifications of the foreign students being enrolled via the agreement are fully commensurate with the normal admission requirements of the university and relevant departments;<sup>37</sup> (d) the failure to specify in the agreement what student services the University will be committed to provide (e.g. whether it would be responsible for providing housing, medical services, etc.); and (e) the failure to ensure that the government of the country in question is fully cognizant of the financial requirements (over and above the usual tuition fees) of each of the students it sponsors; and what it would do in case of running into foreign exchange difficulties—a circumstance that is quite common in these days of global economic crises.

Some of these potential pitfalls can be circumvented altogether if the training that the host institution undertakes to provide occurs for the major part at institutions located in the home country. This form of bilateral training aid involves setting up joint training programs between *host* country and *home* country institutions where the *host* country institutions provides personnel to supervise the training undertaken in *home* country institutions. The supervision is not only at the administrative level but also extends to teaching and curricula. In such a program typically, it is the *host* institution that confers the diplomas/degrees on those successfully complete the program. In some cases successful completion of the program may entail the trainee spending the final year of his/her study program abroad, that is at the host institution.

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<sup>37</sup> An example of this problem arose in the U.S. recently, albeit with respect to a U.S. government funded program: the U.S. Information Agency's *Central American Program of Undergraduate Scholarships*<sup>38</sup> (CAMPUS). Oregon State University outrightly rejected participating in this program because participating institutions were being asked to accept students outside the institutions' normal admissions process. Thus in a letter to the Agency, complaining about this arrangement, Oregon University's Assistant Director for International Education William H. Smart wrote: "It is lamentable that our hopes to assist in the proposed program have been preempted by a placement scheme that takes away our right to review candidates for admissions." (Letter reproduced in U.S. Congress, House, 1985:54.)

## 9 Policy Rationale for Admitting Foreign Students

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The general issue of policies on foreign students begs a fundamental question, (as Chandler, 1985 notes in her report): Why should a nation or institution allow foreign students to come and study? There is no question about it: almost all nations in the world that have higher education institutions feel obligated to admit a certain number of foreign students. This self-imposed obligation is so strong that even poor Third World countries, who in many instances have only a single university within their borders (e.g. Tanzania, Botswana, etc.) admit foreign students. And this is not simply a modern phenomenon, as is evidenced by the following exhortation by King Henry III of England more than 700 years ago in 1231 to the townspeople of Cambridge: "You are aware that a multitude of scholars from divers parts, as well from this side the sea as from overseas, meets at our town of Cambridge for study, which we hold very gratifying and desirable thing, since no small benefit and glory accrues therefrom to our whole realm...; unless you conduct yourselves with more restraint and moderation towards them...they will be driven by your exactions to leave your town and, abandoning their studies, leave the country, which we by no means desire."<sup>39</sup>

Why then should foreign students be admitted? The traditional response has usually had three parts to it: the foreign policy argument (already discussed above in section 3.2); the internationalist argument, and the argument for foreign-aid. (Solmon and Beddow, 1984; and Enarson, 1979) The 'internationalist' argument has been that foreign students provide a vehicle for educational and cultural enrichment of local students on one hand, and on the other, a means for spreading international understanding and bonhomie. At the same time there has also been the feeling within the developed nations that, the Third World countries must be assisted with their educational and training needs; and therefore the enrollment of their foreign students is a form of foreign-aid to these countries.

### 9.1 Internationalism

Almost all documents that discuss foreign student policy tend to carry within them language suggesting that foreign student enrollments are part of a long term invest-

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<sup>39</sup>quoted in Williams, 1982: 10



ment in international peace.<sup>40</sup> Hence sentiments such as the following by the U.S. Senator J. William Fulbright abound:

*The interchange of students and scholars across national boundaries ... is the most effective way to enable human kind to apply reason rather than arms to the arbitration of international problems.*

*The idea that superiority of a particular race, religion or ideology may be proven by force and violence in this nuclear age is an anachronism more irrelevant than the bow and arrow. Educational exchange between nations of different cultures is relevant to the reasonable solution of their differences and allows people to demonstrate their capacity for humane conduct. (From his Forward to Jenkins and Associates (1989))*

Similarly, in rationalizing the foreign student presence on university campuses administrators express sentiments that suggest that no self-respecting university can consider itself a top ranking institution of higher learning unless it also possesses international links—at the minimum that provided by the presence of foreign students. As the report on institutional policy by the Committee on Foreign Students of the American Council on Education (1982) states: “The Committee found...that the predominant institutional reasons for admitting foreign students remain strongly traditional: institutions continue in their conviction that the international flow of knowledge is both good in itself and is a vital ingredient in advancing scientific and scholarly knowledge...And they hold a further belief that domestic students profit from mingling with students from other cultures.” (p. 4)

Yet it is precisely in this area of foreign student/host institution contact that the least amount of effort and activity is going on, as the report then goes on to note:

<sup>40</sup>Raising this very issue, Paul Simon of Illinois, while chairing a Congressional hearing on foreign students (U.S. Congress, House, 1984) justified foreign student presence in terms of neutralizing the Cold War:

*If I can just stretch the imagination of everyone here for a moment, if 50 years ago Yuri Andropov had been an exchange student for 1 year at Eureka College in Illinois and Ronald Reagan had been an exchange student for 1 year at the University of Moscow, I have a feeling we would be living in a vastly different world today.*

*We don't know who the future Yuri Andropovs and Ronald Reagans are, but we better provide the opportunity for people to get to understand each other better ...*

*If we took 1 percent of what we now spend on defense and put it into international exchange programs my instinct is we would be in a much more secure world than we are right now.(p. 2)*



"...foreign students are all too often an unrealized, underutilized, and unintegrated resource for relieving the startling lack of knowledge among domestic students about international matters." If host country institutions were to concretely translate well meaning rhetoric on the useful presence of foreign students into specific curricular programs, made mandatory for all students as part of their balanced academic study program, then foreign students can become an additional resource besides their present function of providing the usual teaching and research assistance.

One modest example of a program along this line is that outlined by Mestenhauer and Barsig (1978) in their *Foreign Students as Teachers: Learning with Foreign Students*. In this program, instituted at the University of Minnesota, faculty would invite qualified foreign students to contribute about 2 hours per week of their time (without pay) for purposes of complementing course-material in courses taught by the faculty. The courses ranged from anthropology and sociology, through religion and philosophy, to engineering and medicine. In some cases entirely new courses were developed by faculty (through usual channels) to make use of fortuitously unique concentrations of foreign student expertise. (An example of such a course was one called 'Cross-cultural Perspectives on Development and Underdevelopment: Case Studies of Nigeria, Thailand, and Turkey.) Another example comes from the State of Oregon, where the Oregon State System of Higher Education began in 1983 a program of providing tuition assistance to needy but outstanding foreign students in return for a minimum of 80 hours of educational service to the State of Oregon. The relevant point here, however, is that educational service has been defined to include serving as a resource for cultural/ educational enrichment of not only students and faculty of Oregon Colleges and Universities but also high school students, citizens wishing to travel abroad, members of civic organizations with international interests, business people involved in international trade and enterprise, etc.<sup>41</sup> An important point to note about these programs is that there is *active* institutional involvement in bringing foreign and local students together within *formal* educational settings rather than leaving it to chance encounters in informal settings: social functions such as parties, cultural nights, etc.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, besides lending concrete credence to the useful presence of foreign students, there is immediate tangible benefits for both sides—financial aid for the foreign students in some cases, as with the Oregon program, and college credit for the local students—

<sup>41</sup>For further details see Van de Water, 1983.

<sup>42</sup>There seems to be evidence that far from promoting cross-cultural contact, informal settings actually diminish it. At least that is the conclusion of one study (Cousins, 1985) of local and foreign students living in an 'international house' at a U.S. institution.

together with the long-term intangible ones of course.

The long-term effect of cross-cultural curricular programs may not only lead to better relations between foreign teaching assistants and local students but may also provide a much needed international perspective to the knowledge base of local students in general. In fact with respect to this last point there is a definite movement afoot, at least in the U.S., and in a few European countries as well (such as West Germany) calling for a greater emphasis on the *international* dimension of both the undergraduate and graduate curriculum in colleges and universities. This 'movement' has been started by both educators and business leaders, and among its aims is to halt what they perceive as an unhealthy 'provincial' mentality that seems to pervade the young of to day—to the long term detriment of the future of their country.<sup>43</sup> For example, a report on African and Asian area studies, released by the University Grants Committee in Britain (authored by a leading industrialist, Sir Peter Parker) early in 1986, severely criticized British higher education institutions for slowly "consigning whole areas of the world to a linguistic and informational vacuum." In a letter to the Committee, the Report's author, emphasizing one of the conclusions of the report observed: *"If it is right to equate the demands of commerce and diplomacy with the national interest—i.e. Britain's economic and political interests in the non-western countries in question—it seems somewhat artificial to differentiate between these and the nation's 'academic' needs, relating to the intrinsic intellectual and cultural value of the study of Oriental languages and literature."* (*Times Higher Education Supplement*, July 18, 1986, p. 11) In the U.S., the Association of American Universities has begun a two pronged effort at increasing international education activities among U.S. higher education institutions. It is proposing legislation that would create a central agency, akin to the U.S. National Science Foundation, to establish, finance, promote and oversee international education activities. (The agency would be called the National Foundation for Foreign Languages and International Studies). At the same time the Association is organizing a comprehensive data gathering survey of international education activities at the undergraduate level at U.S. Institutions. The project, to be headquartered at the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia, and headed by Richard D. Lambert (Professor of Sociology at University of Pennsylvania) will commence in 1987 and end in the middle of 1988.

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<sup>43</sup>See for example Bergen and Kelley, 1985; Briggs and Burn, 1985; Kobrin, 1984; the President's Commission, 1979; Smith, 1984.

## 9.2 Public Diplomacy

Activities aimed at furthering the 'internationalist' goal however, must also include programs that make foreign students feel welcomed by *host* communities, as well as assist them in getting to know the culture, institution, etc. of the *host* country. The following questions posed in a document prepared by the Council of Europe (1982) at its meeting in Strasbourg on 17-19 March 1981 underlines this point well:

*1. Do the citizens of the host country as a whole welcome foreign students? Or are they made to feel unwelcome because of their race, the color of their skin, or the political policies of their governments? 2. What is done by the host institution or its national students to integrate them into the student body by encouraging them to join social or faculty or sports clubs? 3. How far does the community, through voluntary bodies (church, Rotary International, local associations) offer them friendship, hospitality and assistance? . . . 4. How far are they offered help in gaining acquaintance with the history, geography and culture of the host country through special trips, excursions, visits, lectures, etc.?" (pp. 73-74)*

The importance of this point cannot be underestimated. A multi-national study involving foreign students from a number of East African countries found that the United States scored the lowest, followed by Western Europe, in terms of satisfaction rating for racial and cultural relations. The score for Eastern Europe was highest.<sup>44</sup> (Maliyamkono, et al, 1982). Another study, albeit one limited to the U.S., on the psychological costs of U.S. education for foreign students, found that 30% of Asian students, 53% of Latin American students, and 40% of African students felt that racial discrimination was a major problem they faced in the U.S..(Hossain and La Berge, 1985: 22) While this finding may not be reflected in the experiences of *all* foreign students, it nonetheless points to an important problem: the lack of sufficient governmental support for cultural enrichment programing for foreign students. In the U.S., as in Europe, awareness of this problem is beginning to grow however. For example, the matter has been brought to the attention of the U.S. Congress.

<sup>44</sup>It is interesting to note that one country that has had significant race relations problems with respect to foreign students is China. Tension between Chinese and foreign students has been endemic. Most recently, because of increasing attacks on foreign students by Chinese citizens, some 500 foreign students held a protest march in Beijing and Tianjin. The Chinese Government's line on the causes of these attacks has been to split hairs: they are not racially motivated, but rather are an outcome of differences in cultural backgrounds. *Times Higher Education Supplement*, July 4, 1986, p. 9)

Thus during one of its hearings (U.S. Congress, Senate, 1985) the Chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (Edwin J. Feulner), and the Liason Group for International Educational Exchange (1985) both raised the issue. In its testimony the Liaison Group noting that "modest increases in resources for programs to enrich community and campus programs for foreign students would greatly increase the quality of their experiences and the public diplomacy gains from these programs," submitted that the approximately \$3.5 million that the Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Information Agency allocates to its Division of Student Support Services was simply not enough to allow the Division to even minimally take care of the cultural and extra-curricular needs of privately sponsored foreign students—who comprise a majority of all foreign students. (U.S. Congress, Senate, 1985: 648) In fact it is ironic that when there is Presidential interest (in the U.S.) in encouraging international youth exchanges (and hence the launch in 1982 of the President's International Youth Exchange Initiative program), there is little governmental interest in enhancing the cultural and educational value of thousands of international youths that are already in the country studying at various educational institutions. Surely, a much greater pay-off in terms of promoting international understanding and peace, can come from concentrating on those foreign youths who will be in the country not for a few *months*, but for a few *years*.

One other point with respect to this area of cultural diplomacy: it would not be out of place to draw attention to a problem that foreign students have increasingly been experiencing at ports of entry among some Western host nations—such as the U.K. and the U.S.. This problem is the negative, rude, and sometimes downright racially prejudiced conduct of immigration officials toward foreign students. In fact a report by the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (1985) notes with respect to the U.S.:

*...the lack of courtesy, respect, and sensitivity experienced by exchange students in their dealings with the Service [Immigration and Naturalization Service] does serious damage to public diplomacy goals. Consider the reaction of two students from Cambridge University to their experience with the head of an INS office who "...graphically conveyed to us and, we felt, all other clients he dealt with, the strong impression that we were not at all welcome in this country."* (p. 4)

To mention another example from the U.S.: An immigration officer at the Immigration post on the U.S./Canadian border decided to bar entry to a returning doctoral foreign student from Southern Africa (who had gone to Canada for a one-day visit),

solely on the grounds that the student had been in the U.S. for too long. The fact that the student's documents were all in proper order testifying to his bona-fide status as a student was considered irrelevant. It was only after the student's academic and foreign student advisers interceded on his behalf was he allowed back in. (To make matters worse the student had to get in touch with his advisers via long-distance telephone from Canada because the U.S. immigration officer would not allow him to use the pay phone nearby—an inconvenience that U.S. Immigration laws allowed the Officer to impose.) Needless to say this kind of conduct experienced by countless foreign students can only undermine one of the purposes of allowing foreign students to come and study in the *host* country: to expose them to the values, cultures, and government of the *host* country, with the long term aim of forging amicable international relations between peoples and countries. In fact commenting on this very matter, an editorial in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* (July 19, 1986, p. 28) notes that the steep decline in foreign student enrollment in Britain is not entirely attributable to the policy of full-cost tuition fees. It suggests that part of the reason is that Britain in general has become a less welcoming country for foreign students.

### 9.3 Foreign Aid

Implicit in the policies of almost all *host* nations to allow foreign students to come and study, is that it is considered as a means for assisting Third World countries to develop their skilled person power resources (since the majority of the foreign students come from the Third World), for the purposes of 'institution building'. That is it is another form of foreign aid. (Jenkins, 1983; Myers, 1984; and Williams, 1982) For example one of the stated objectives of the Mutual Education and Cultural Exchanges Act of 1961 (which launched the Fulbright program), passed by the U.S. Congress was to "promote international co-operation for educational and cultural advancement." Yet if the education of foreign students is regarded as a means for assisting Third World countries to develop their skilled person-power needs, then much more needs to be done by way of policies to safeguard this objective. Here reference is being made to the issue of refugee students (discussed in section 3.1 above) and to the point by Solmon and Beddow (1984), that when foreign students do not return home they deprive their countries of much needed skills and talent through *brain drain*.<sup>45</sup> In fact in his testimony on the U.S. Scholarship Program for

<sup>45</sup>The literature on brain drain is fairly extensive. Though it appears that not as much has been published in recent years as in the past. For a recent publication on the matter see Ardittis

Developing Countries bill (see section 3.1 above), House representative Jim Wright of Texas stated that the goal of the bill was "not to contribute to a problem faced by many developing countries: namely the loss of some of their brightest, most highly skilled people." (p. 21) Therefore, to this end the bill had provisions that require foreign students to repay the scholarship if they do not return home upon completing their studies.

To demonstrate the nature of the foreign student brain-drain problem, the Australian case is illustrative.<sup>46</sup> With the election of the Labor Government in 1973, conditions for remaining in Australia for foreign students upon completion of their studies were liberalized. And as Fraser (1984) notes, for justifiable reasons many of the Asian countries whose students began to remain in Australia in ever increasing numbers as a result of the new measures protested at what they felt was a deliberate policy of fostering brain drain. For in the years between 1973 and 1979 (when more stringent regulations came into effect designed to discourage foreign students from remaining after completing their studies), it is estimated that some 75 per cent! of foreign students had chosen not to return home, according to the Government of Australia (Fraser 1984). Even China, which began to send students abroad in large numbers only recently (1978), has begun to express concern at the numbers of Chinese students who have failed to return home upon completion of their studies. A report in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* (June 27, 1986, p. 10) gives the example of students from Shanghai. Of all the students sent abroad since 1978, only 29% have returned following completion of their studies—and it is thought that this figure is better than that for the country as a whole.

To take another example: while it is not possible to determine with any certainty the precise figures of foreign students in the U.S. who do not return home, (because of the manner in which statistics for awards of new residence permits are kept), going by what Solmon and Beddow (1984) write, it is probable that close to 50 per cent of all foreign students who complete studies in *selected fields* such as those in the computer, engineering, and physical sciences, do not return home. From the perspective of *graduate level students* the figure is probably even more dramatic.

(1985), and the reader is referred to the section on migration of talent in Altbach, et al (1985) for sources.

<sup>46</sup>It should be noted that in referring to this problem, brain drain is being defined narrowly to refer to only those students who are on a temporary immigration visa, and who remain in the host country after completing their studies solely as a consequence of the desire to obtain better job and career opportunities, and not as a result of other factors such as: the desire to maintain close filial and/or other family ties with members of the host population; the need to seek political asylum. etc. Such brain drain students may be referred to as 'economic refugees'.



For example, citing one study (Sanderson, 1982) they note that a mere 3 per cent of *doctoral* foreign students who graduated in *economics* in the period 1978/79 to 1981/82 in the U.S. returned home, the rest remained within the U.S. (or went to Canada—5 per cent). A recent study by the U.S. General Accounting Office (1986) based on data collected by the National Science Foundation, found that the percentage of temporary visa foreign doctoral students in the fields of science and engineering, who indicated firm plans to remain in the U.S. upon graduation, had jumped from 29% in 1972 to 53% in 1984. On the other hand when the non-returning foreign students are viewed as a proportion of *all* graduating foreign students (that is graduates and undergraduates across all disciplines), then the figure is probably not all that impressive.<sup>47</sup> of course when viewed simply as a proportion of all student non-immigrants (that is including those who are political refugees, spouses of U.S. citizens, etc.) who adjust to the status of permanent residents in the U.S., then the figure becomes very small. For example, basing on statistics released by the Statistical Analysis branch of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service to the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs,<sup>49</sup> the figure for 1985 was approximately 10%. The percentage figure becomes even smaller (1.1%) when seen in the context of the total figure for all (students and non-students) who were granted permanent resident status in the U.S. in 1985.

While the general trend in recent years throughout most of the *host* countries has been to tighten regulations that allow foreign students to remain after completing their studies so as to encourage them to return home, this trend has been motivated less by concern for the development of Third World countries than the conservative

<sup>47</sup>There is a rough way to calculate this figure: comparing the figure for those students granted permanent resident status for economic reasons (termed by the INS as 'occupational preference' category) with the total number of foreign students graduating with degrees in a given year. In making this comparison, however, there are two assumptions that must be made: one is that there is at least a two year lag before a student achieves status adjustment following graduation (the first year is when the student undertakes practical training, and the second year is for the application and processing of the status adjustment). Two, that the proportion of foreign undergraduates that goes on to graduate studies is insignificant, and that the same holds true for Masters students who go on to doctoral studies.<sup>48</sup> Now the latest figures available for the total number of foreign students graduating with degrees are for 1980/81 academic year, in which 48 849 foreign students graduated with university degrees. (See *Digest of Education Statistics* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1986)) Calculating on the basis of recent statistics, in 1982/83 the number of student non-immigrants in the occupational preference category who were granted permanent resident status averaged 1 314. The ratio between the two figures is 2.7%.

<sup>49</sup>See *Najia Government Affairs Bulletin*, Vol. 2, no. 6 (1986), pp. 6-7.



backlash arising out of economic crises and the consequent mass unemployment that has plagued most industrialized nations in recent years. The backlash is against the mounting (but subtle) pressure that foreign students in recent years have been exerting on the immigration authorities of the *host* countries to allow them to remain in the country following completion of studies, as 'economic' refugees. Paradoxically then, the same pressures that are pushing *host* country governments to tighten immigration regulations, are also the very pressures that are pushing foreign students toward seeking domicile status in the *host* countries.

The issue of brain drain is not simply a policy matter for national governments. There is the question of whether institutions can and should encourage foreign students to return home? The general tendency for universities has been not to address this issue at all, for understandable, though not necessarily acceptable reasons. Many universities face a dilemma: Given that universities have often been among the principal beneficiaries of the brain drain, their support for anti-brain drain measures is obviously bound to be lukewarm. In the U.S. for instance, because of a dearth of local doctoral level students in economically strategic programs, such as the engineering sciences, many U.S. institutions have become highly dependent upon foreign graduate teaching/research assistants. Since the gestation period for producing faculty is very long, it is likely that U.S. universities will have to ultimately hire some of these foreign graduate students as faculty upon completion of their studies. Yet there is a clear need for universities to do whatever they can to encourage international students to return home. Certainly a moral case can be built, if nothing else, on the matter of encouraging foreign students to return home along the following lines: Third World countries have often sacrificed a great deal to educate their students, both while within the country, and after they have left to study abroad.<sup>50</sup> Consequently they should have access to the skills and training that their students acquire abroad and which they so desperately need. Moreover it has to be noted that many of the foreign students, in fact the greater majority, come from privileged sectors of their societies—this is evident from the fact that the majority of the foreign students are privately sponsored by their families—therefore of all the Third World people they should be the least to deserve the status of 'economic refugees'.

How can universities help? There are two ways by which they can assist at the

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<sup>50</sup>This sacrifice also extends to privately sponsored students, because they help to dissipate much needed (and in these days) extremely scarce foreign exchange reserves that could be used to import medicine, agricultural inputs, machinery, and other similar goods so essential for economic survival and progress of the Third World nations.

minimum. One is by developing a career guidance and placement program aimed at foreign students specifically to encourage them to return home. As one publication by the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs puts it: "Foreign graduate students should be urged, long before they receive their degree, to begin looking for a position at home." (1983:13) With respect to this, perhaps *home* country governments can be asked to contribute toward the funding of the program, or alternatively the *host* country governments can pick up the tab as part of their foreign aid assistance. Among the elements that may be incorporated in an institutional program aimed at encouraging foreign students to return home are the following:<sup>51</sup>

- (1) early advice and guidance from relevant advisers, such as to make the foreign student constantly aware (in the positive sense) of the fact that he/she will return home upon completion of studies, and therefore to psychologically as well practically plan for the event.
- (2) Explain ways, means, and reasons for maintaining steadfast contact with peers, faculty, and the department in general following return home.
- (3) Explain the need for developing home country peer contacts and support group.
- (4) Encourage the alumni office to take a more active interest (if it is not already doing so) in the foreign alumni—at both departmental and institutional levels. At the minimum the office should maintain current addresses and biodata of foreign alumni.
- (5) Encourage departmental faculty to keep in touch with their foreign students after they have returned home.
- (6) Explain the need for joining and participating in the activities of professional associations. Another way by which they can help is by devising appropriate curricula for foreign students on one hand, and on the other by discouraging them from enrolling in programs that are seen to be obviously and patently of no relevance to the development needs of their societies. A slight modification, but still in this vein, would be to allow only those foreign students who agree to sign contracts with their *home* governments to the effect that they will return home upon completion of their studies for a minimum period of say three years, to have access to the popular fields of study (such as the engineering fields).<sup>52</sup>

The issue of foreign-aid, also raises the very important question of who among foreign students should be allowed to come and study by the *host* nations. As Enarson (1979) has commented at length, it makes little sense to allow indiscriminate

<sup>51</sup>An excellent resource that is worth consulting in this area is Hood and Schieffer (1983).

<sup>52</sup>It is interesting to note that in comparison to Western countries, the Soviet bloc countries do not seem to be affected by the brain drain problem. There is a clear and unequivocal policy to ensure that foreign students return home upon completion of their studies, in consonance with the basic purpose of training foreign students.

entry of foreign students simply because they have the means to pay for their studies, or simply because places need to be filled within *host* institutions. A more fruitful approach would be one that encouraged enrollment of foreign students via specific bilateral agreements, and discouraged (though not banned) enrollment via private initiative of the students and their families. Enarson correctly argues that such controlled entry would be in the long term interests of all: the *host* nations as well as the *home* (sending) nations. There is certainly a clear case for discouraging enrollment of those foreign students who go overseas to study, simply to obtain an overseas degree because they feel such a degree is more prestigious than a local degree. No Third World nation—with the exception, perhaps, of the OPEC nations—can afford to waste scarce foreign exchange reserves on the overseas education of students (even if privately sponsored), simply for purposes of enhancing the students social standing. This is especially the case to day when most Third World countries are up to their ears in debts—owing millions of dollars to overseas creditors—and not to mention the enormous economic difficulties they are facing as a consequence.

## 10 Conclusion

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Having looked at the principal areas of policy on international students, a summary of policy trends projection for the years to come is now in order. Since everything concerning policy on foreign students is dependent on the magnitude of foreign student flows, first a word about that. Recent figures of international student flow suggest that when compared to the past few years, the flow is decreasing. (In the U.S. for example, the annual percentage increases have dropped to a mere 1.5 per cent for the period 1983 to 85 (Mc Cann, 1985:3). Contrast this with the average annual percentage increases of more than 10 percent in the preceding decade (Institute of International Education, 1986).) This is not surprising. For in the final analysis the flow is dependent upon the economic health of the Third World nations—the principal generators of the flow. Going by both World Bank annual reports, and the International Monetary Fund annual economic outlook reports, all indications are that the economic performance of most of the Third World countries, will for many years to come remain at less than satisfactory levels. And this suggests that the slow down will continue for a long time, albeit it does not imply that no leveling off of this downward trend will occur.

Within this relatively decreased international levels of foreign student flows it is

possible to suggest the following future sub-trends: the regional composition of the flow will remain largely Third World based. In the context of declining college age level populations in the industrialized nations, not to mention the lack of any major impetus among their students toward seeking education abroad, it is extremely unlikely that the proportion of foreign students coming from the industrialized nations will ever rival in any way the proportions of students coming from the Third World. One qualification is needed here. While there may at present be considerable reluctance on the part of students from industrially advanced nations to go abroad, there is a possibility that the flow of these students will increase in the future if recent efforts in these countries by educators and others come to fruition. These efforts are directed toward developing incentives for encouraging students to go and study abroad in both global directions: the North (that is within the industrialized world; and the South (the Third World). The problem so far has been how best to transform institutional motivations for study abroad into individual motivation, but effort is underway to find solutions. (See for example Briggs and Burn, 1986). As to the reason for this effort: it is best summed by the Swedish Committee for Internationalizing University Education: "Universities should be lavishly supplied with the experience, impetus and new ideas that can be obtained from other countries, and 'feedback' of this kind is an indispensable tool that a university needs for reviewing and enhancing its activity." (Quoted in Briggs and Burn, 1985:6) As for the rationale for the North to South movement of students, it is ably explicated in the testimony by the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs' Whole World Committee before a Congressional hearing (U.S. Congress, House, 1985:49)

*The rationales for study abroad in Third World countries are numerous and diverse, philosophical and practical, institutional and personal. From national or educational policy-maker's perspective, it is enough to note that some three quarters of the world's population lives in Third World countries, that this proportion is growing and becoming more powerful, that the communications revolution has irretrievably linked the people of these countries to us, that U.S. economic dependence on these countries is extensive and increasing (now accounting for more than 1/3 of U.S. imports and exports, with implications for U.S. jobs and living standards), and that U.S. national security is vitally affected (we have fought in several wars since 1945, all in Third World countries). Therefore, if the purpose of education is to prepare for life in one's world, the Third World is a critical area to know and understand.*

In the years to come, it is likely that the proportion of foreign *undergraduate* students will decline relative to the foreign *graduate* students. This is because many Third World nations will aim toward self-sufficiency in, at the very least, undergraduate level education. (Oxenham, 1981) By the same token however there will be an increased demand for graduate level studies abroad in order to meet the demand for the teaching faculty for their undergraduate university programs. At the same time, for some of the same reasons the *host* nations themselves are likely to concentrate on policies that favor graduate rather than undergraduate foreign students. In at least three countries (Britain, France, and West Germany), for example, there is a clear government policy trend in this direction. (Chandler, 1985) Related to this development, the Commonwealth Secretariat in its fourth report (1985) makes the prediction of a greater movement toward what it calls 'split-site' programing. That is because of the rising cost of maintaining students overseas for long periods of time, bilateral programs between *home* country and *host* country institutions will be developed to enable students to do part of their studies at home and part abroad. (See also the British Council, 1984 on this.)

With respect to the matter of foreign student numbers within specific fields of study, it is possible to predict an even greater push toward enrollment in such economically strategic fields of study as the engineering and computer fields. This will be a consequence of three basic factors: the need by Third World countries for science and engineering faculty for their own universities; the need for scientists and engineers by Third World countries for their industrialization and modernization projects; and the desire by Third World students, especially the self-sponsored ones, to specialize in fields where prospects for obtaining employment—either in their own home countries or in the *host* countries themselves—is the highest.

In the context of these population trends, it is possible to make the following projections on policy within the *host* countries. As the percentage increase of foreign student numbers world-wide slows down, competition between universities that rely significantly for revenues generated via foreign student enrollments will increase prompting policies toward more active foreign student recruitment on one hand, and on the other possible modifications of entrance qualifications for foreign students in undersubscribed fields. At the same time it is quite likely that the magnitudes of increases in foreign student tuition rates seen in recent years will not be sustained. This is not only because the flow regulation function of the increases will in time have become redundant as the international flow stabilizes, but also because there will be greater competition among countries to attract foreign students, which will act to stabilize tuition rates.

With reference to tuition fees, there is one trend that must be mentioned started by a few universities in the U.S. (that in the years to come may well be adopted by many more, if not all, U.S. universities). This trend is the requirement that foreign students not only show documentary evidence of availability of adequate funds at home to support their studies overseas, but make advance fund transfers for tuition/subsistence purposes prior to their formal enrollment. This trend has begun as a consequence of the inability of some Third World countries to meet the foreign exchange requirements of their students studying abroad. A classic example is that of the Nigerian case, which many U.S. universities have come to regard as absolutely scandalous. Nigeria was among the largest suppliers of students to the U.S., but over the years has consistently failed to allow timely transfers of funds to meet tuition/subsistence expenses of Nigerian students studying overseas, resulting in millions of dollars of tuition money being owed to universities—not to mention the untold hardship and suffering that the students have had to face. (National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1983(b). Paradoxically many of the students involved have been officially sponsored by the Nigerian government, and institutions. Similar financial problems have also plagued students from Ghana and Guyana. (With the recent dramatic downward plunge of world oil prices, it is likely that students from other nations may become involved in this problem.)

Competition among countries for foreign students, may also take the form of regional competition between the Soviet Union and its allies and the Western industrialized nations. It is quite possible that many of the poorer Third World nations, unable to pay for the training of their students in the industrialized nations, will opt to send their students to the Soviet Union (and its allies) in greater numbers than before. All indications are that the Soviet Union will accept as many foreign students as are willing to come in the foreseeable future. This is evident from the fact that the principles upon which the Soviet Union continues to admit foreign students are quite different from those of the non-socialist industrialized nations.

To elaborate: The Soviet Union has long regarded the provision of higher educational assistance to any country desirous of establishing mutual relations with the Soviet Union, as a logical extension of a duty mandated by its constitution (article 28) which asserts that the Soviet Union "will steadfastly carry out a Leninist policy of peace and work to strengthen security among nations and broad international cooperation." Consequently it has encouraged not only the admission of foreign students from the Third World, but has facilitated this admission through scholarships. Almost all of the foreign students in the Soviet Union who come from the Third World are funded by the Soviet Union. In fact Soviet policy is that any foreign



student from a developing country accepted in a Soviet institution will have all of his/her expenses (tuition, subsistence, etc.) taken care of by the Soviet state. The Soviet Union is among the few countries in the world that has a university exclusively for the purposes of enrolling foreign students—specifically Patrice Lumumba University and also known as Friendship University (which has an enrollment of some 7000 students from more than 100 countries, (Eliutin, 1985: 145)) The total number of foreign students from non-socialist Third World countries studying in the Soviet Bloc countries numbered approximately 93 000 in 1984—of whom nearly two thirds were in some 400 educational institutions in the U.S.S.R., according to the U.S. Department of State (1984:6). The Department estimates that to date 120 000 of such students from some 110 countries have studied in the U.S.S.R., and that about 60 000 have left the Soviet Union with academic degrees.<sup>53</sup> The State Department asserts that even though such degrees are not always accepted in the *home* countries (sometimes the students face outright discrimination in the job market), Soviet Bloc education has become an increasing attraction for many Third World students because of its all expense-paid feature in the context of increasingly fewer opportunities for these students to obtain scholarships in Western countries because of steady cut-backs in funds for such scholarships.

If the tempo of this regional competition between the West and the U.S.S.R. increases, then one major policy change that may develop is in the area of *host* government support for foreign students. It is likely that the steeply downward trend in support (via scholarships, etc.) for the training of foreign students by *host* governments of the industrialized nations seen over the past decade may be halted, or even perhaps reversed. The fact that all who testified at the Congressional hearing on foreign students (U. S. Congress, 1984) made pleas for greater levels of funding support by the government for foreign students in terms (sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly) of regional competition with the U.S.S.R. points to this, as of course does other Congressional activity mentioned in section 3.1. above).

With regard to fields of specialization, it is quite likely that as the numbers of foreign student applicants continue to increase in the popular fields many universities will develop policies of instituting quotas for foreign student applicants. It is also quite possible that if the universities do not act on their own in this regard, then they may be forced to act via government legislation.

One policy change that may prove surprising is in the area of curricular offerings. Universities, especially in the U.S., may find that pressure may emanate from individuals, groups, and organizations within the universities as well as outside for

<sup>53</sup>For more information on foreign students in the USSR, see Bilibin, 1984



inclusion of a modest but significant amount of internationally oriented curricular programs, in order to halt the trend toward academic insularity and parochialism. (See for instance Wharton, 1984, and Clark, 1984), which it will be felt is not in the long-run interests of the *host* country. This policy change may imply greater relevance for the educational needs of students from the Third World than has been present hitherto.

In the area of teaching assistance, foreign students will find increasingly that they will be subjected to English language screening and training programs on a more thorough scale than ever before. However it is also likely that universities may move toward development of more comprehensive training programs for all T.A.s, both local and foreign. (There is a genuine fear out there among university administrators that a parent may one day take a university to court on grounds that the his/her child received inadequate education because of poorly or untrained teaching assistant faculty.)

These then are the major trend projections on policy that the overview sketched out in the preceding pages indicate. Clearly henceforth, foreign students for good or ill, will continue to be an integral part of a university's or even a country's educational policy focus in the foreseeable future.

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## APPENDIX A

### SUMMARY OF KEY POLICY ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

#### 1 Issues of Foreign Student Policy: Governmental Level

##### I. Population

**A. Total Numbers.** What should be the target figure of the total number of foreign students as a percentage of the total *national* student population?

**B. Geographical Origin.** Should efforts be made to ensure an even distribution of foreign students with respect to geographical origin?; and if so by what means?

**C. Flow Regulation.** What mechanisms should be employed to regulate foreign student inflow? Examples include the market mechanism (fee increases, imposition of fees; institution of bilateral cost-sharing arrangements); administrative mechanisms (imposition of quotas; institution of language of instruction competency qualifications; etc); academic mechanisms (tightening, or loosening admission requirements)

**D. Sectoral Distribution.** In what sectors of tertiary level education should foreign students be either encouraged or discouraged to enroll, and with what measures? (Examples of sectors include: community colleges and polytechnics; four-year colleges; universities).

**E. Geographical Distribution.** What measures can be adopted to discourage over concentration of foreign students in specific geographical localities? (Examples of geographical concentration include the Province of Ontario; New York State; Paris Region; Greater London)

**F. Academic Level Distribution.** At what academic levels (undergraduate; graduate; and post-graduate), if any, should foreign students be encouraged or discouraged to enroll, and with what measures?

**G. Field of Study Distribution.** In what fields (Agriculture, Economics, Education, Engineering, Management, Medicine, etc.), if any, should foreign students be encouraged or discouraged to enroll, and with what measures?

**H. Distribution by Socio-Economic Status.** Should foreign students from poor family backgrounds be given financial assistance (tuition waivers; scholarship awards; etc)? And should they receive preferential treatment in situations where foreign student quota limits exists? Should poor foreign students be allowed to seek wage employment in times of financial need?

**I. Refugee Students.** What measures should the government adopt to assist refugee students? Should some form of refugee insurance policy be initiated for foreign students that can allow them to finish their studies if they are rendered refugees in the middle of their studies?

**J. Immigration Regulations.** What regulations are absolutely necessary to keep track of foreign students, and what regulations, in their effect in practice, are simply a harassment of foreign students?

##### II. Economics

**A. Costs** What is the marginal cost of educating a foreign student? What is the average cost of educating a foreign student? Should these costs be determined by levels and fields of study? What costs, if any, should foreign student fees reflect, and by how much?

**B. Benefits** What are the benefits that foreign students bring against which costs must be weighed? (Examples of benefits include: research contribution; generation of economic demand—spending on goods and services; assistance with balance of payments via foreign exchange inflow; future export orders via alumni; broadening educational horizons of local students; etc.). Should economically non-measurable benefits be given any consideration in policy decisions, and if so to what extent?

##### III. Foreign Policy

**A. Development Aid.** Are the advanced industrialized nations morally obligated to assist the Third World with their training needs? If they are, how much of this assistance should be via the admission into their institutions of foreign students? Should the advanced industrialized nations practice positive discrimination with respect to the poorer of the Third World nations (e.g. Bangladesh, Bolivia, Ecuador, Tarsania, etc.), and if so by what mechanisms? Should training assistance to the Third World include

development of appropriate curricular programs in institutions where foreign students are enrolled? And if so, what measures should be instituted to accomplish this?

**B. Brain Drain.** Are advanced industrialized nations morally obligated to encourage foreign students to return home after completion of their studies? If so what measures can be instituted to accomplish this? Should these nations make monetary reparations (brain drain tax) to the home countries of those foreign students who do not return home and find jobs in the host country?

**C. Political Goodwill.** To what extent if any, and how, can the host countries use the education of foreign students as avenues for developing political influence, and goodwill within their home countries?

**D. International Tensions.** To what extent if any, and how, can the education of foreign students be used as one of the means to relieve world political tensions?

**E. Democratic Values.** To what extent if any, and how, can the education of foreign students be used to develop democratic values and practices within their home countries?

## 2 Issues of Foreign Student Policy: Institutional Level

### I. Population

**A. Total Numbers.** What should be the target figure of the total number of foreign students as a percentage of the total institutional student population?

**B. Geographical Origin.** Should efforts be made to ensure an even distribution of foreign students with respect to geographical origin?; and if so by what means?

**C. Flow Regulation.** What mechanisms should be employed to regulate foreign student inflow? Examples include the market mechanism (fee increases, imposition of fees; institution of bilateral cost-sharing arrangements); administrative mechanisms (imposition of quotas; institution of language of instruction competency qualifications; etc); academic mechanisms (tightening, or loosening admission requirements)

**D. Distribution by Socio-Economic Status.** Should foreign students from poor family backgrounds be given financial assistance (tuition waivers; scholarship awards; etc)? And should they receive preferential treatment in situations where foreign student quota limits exists?

### II. Logistics

**A. Student Welfare.** To what extent if any, should institutions be concerned with the provision of non-academic (student welfare) services to foreign students? (Examples of these services include: provision of housing, or assistance with location of it; provision of means of access to health services; development and implementation of orientation programs for newly arrived foreign students). How should these services be funded?

**B. Advisement.** Should there be a full time foreign student adviser? What support staff should he/she have? What areas of foreign student concerns should he be involved with? (administrative, legal, academic, etc.) What should be his position within the administrative hierarchy?

### III. Administration

**A. Recruitment.** Should an institution embark on an active foreign student recruitment program? If so what measures should be adopted? (e.g. Should there be a full time recruiting officer? Should an outside commercial recruiting agency be hired? Should overseas offices be set up to represent the institution in its recruitment drives? Should the institution actively seek bilateral training agreements with overseas governments?)

**B. Admission.** Who should be in charge of admission of foreign students: Departments or the Administration? What admission standards and procedures should be instituted? (e.g. what entrance qualifying levels should be established for the language of instruction competency test scores; What form should the means test take? What procedures should be used for credentials evaluation?, etc.)

**C. Finances.** By how much, if any, should foreign student tuition fees vary from those paid by local students? Should foreign students be allowed to compete for campus-wide institutional scholarships? If so, should financial circumstances of the foreign students be taken into consideration?

#### **IV. Academic Issues**

**A. Academic Level Distribution.** At what academic levels (undergraduate; graduate; and post-graduate), if any, should foreign students be encouraged or discouraged to enroll, and with what measures?

**B. Field of Study Distribution.** In what fields (Agriculture, Economics, Education, Engineering, Management, Medicine, etc.), if any, should foreign students be encouraged or discouraged to enroll, and with what measures?

**C. Curricula.** To what extent if any, and how can institutions develop appropriate curricular programs for foreign students? Who should fund such programs (if developed)?

**D. Assistantships.** Should foreign students be allowed to compete for departmental level assistantships? If so, should foreign student teaching assistants undergo additional language of instruction competency tests to measure verbal aural skills? Should assistantship awards for foreign students be the same as those for local students?

**E. Admission Standards.** Should admission standards for foreign students vary from those of local students? If so, in what direction?

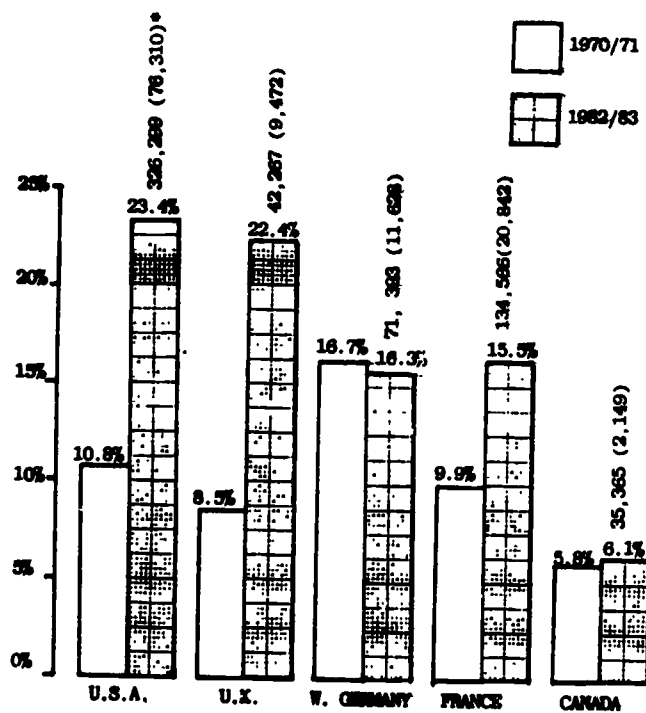
**F. International Education.** To what extent if any, and how, should institutions use the education of foreign students to enhance the education of local students?

**APPENDIX B\***

\* The following sources were used for preparing this appendix:  
Unesco Statistical Yearbooks:1975; 1980;1986; Institute of International  
Education, 1984; and 1986; U.S. Department of State, 1986 (Item no. 387  
in the bibliography)

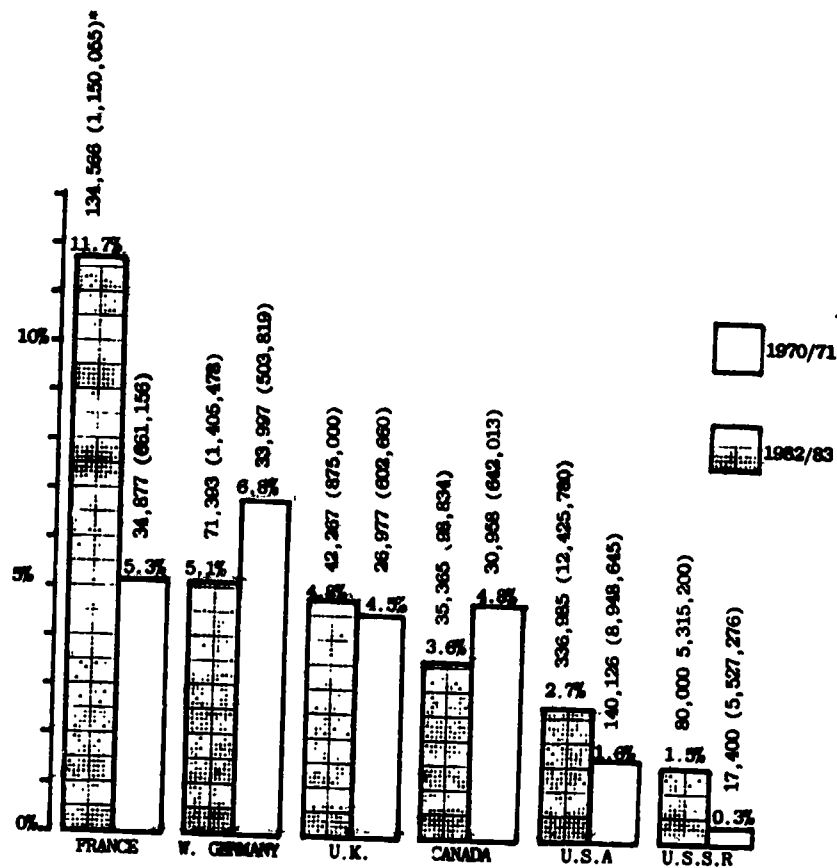


**FIGURE 1**  
**OEIC NATIONS PERCENTAGE SHARE OF TOTAL**  
**FOREIGN STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN THE TOP**  
**5 MOST NATIONS OF THE WEST**  
**1970/71; 1982/83**



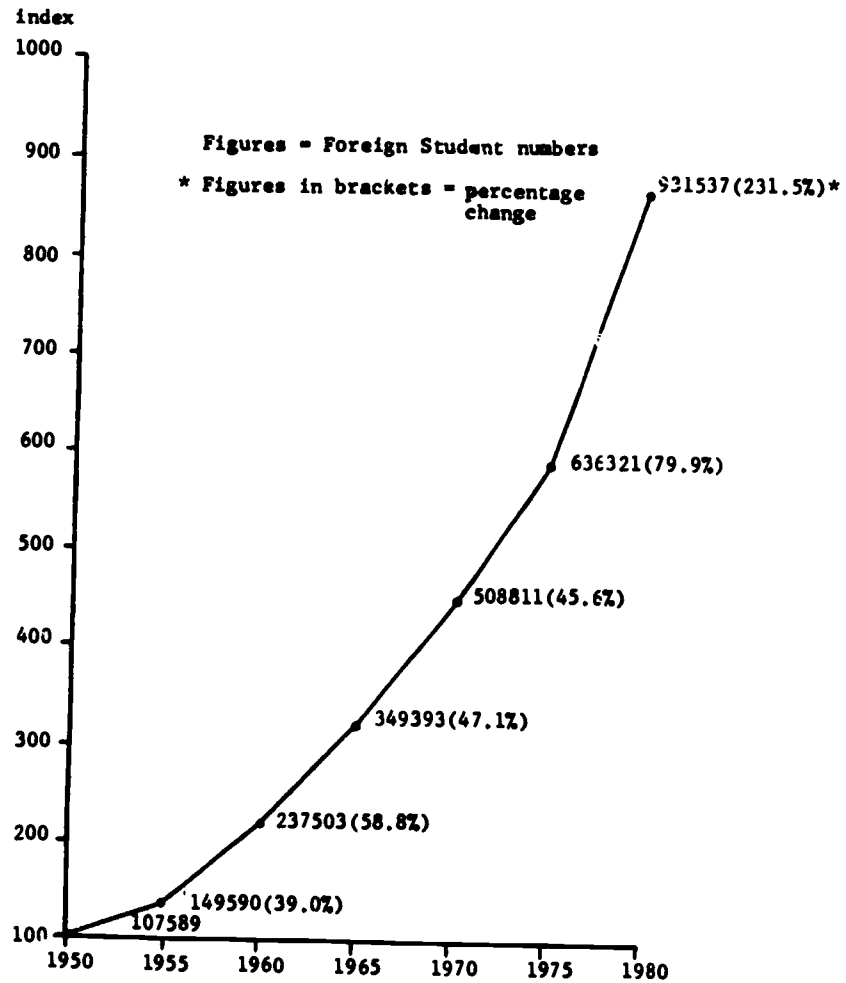
\* Total foreign student enrollment. Figures in brackets are enrollments of foreign students from OEIC nations.

**FIGURE 2**  
**COMPARISON OF FOREIGN STUDENT ENROLLMENTS**  
**AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL NATIONAL ENROLLMENTS IN THE TOP**  
**SIX HOST NATIONS (1970/71; 1982/83)**

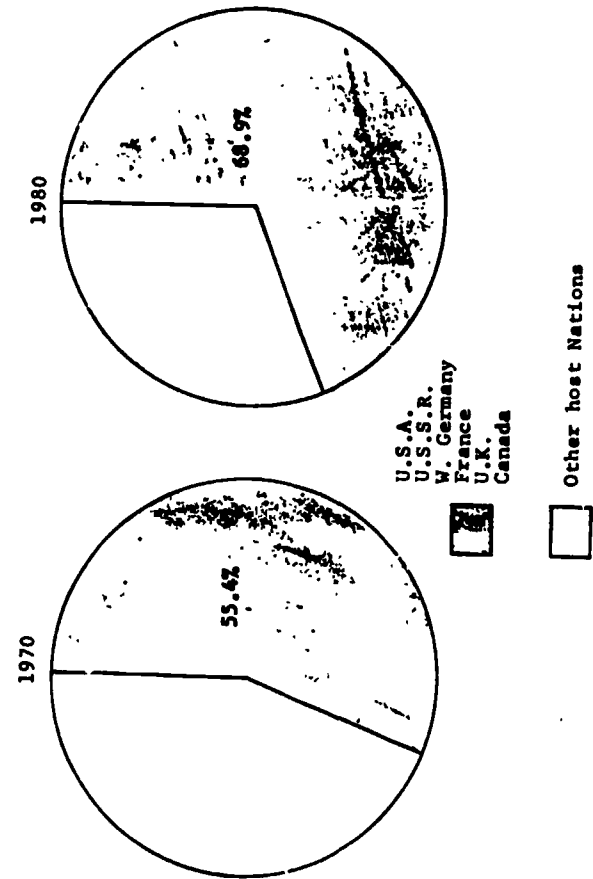


\* Foreign student enrollments. Figures in brackets are total national enrollments.

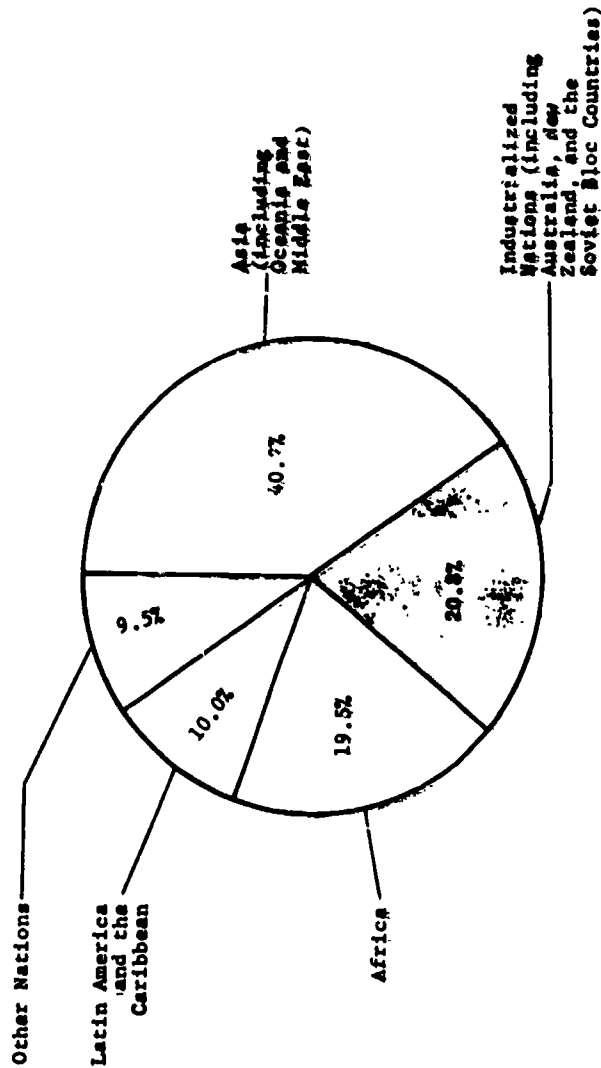
**FIGURE 3**  
**WORLDWIDE FOREIGN STUDENT POPULATION INDEX**  
**TREND: 1950 to 1980 (Base 1950=100)**



**FIGURE 4**  
**PROPORTIONS OF FOREIGN STUDENTS WORLDWIDE STUDYING IN THE TOP SIX HOST NATIONS (1970, and 1980)**

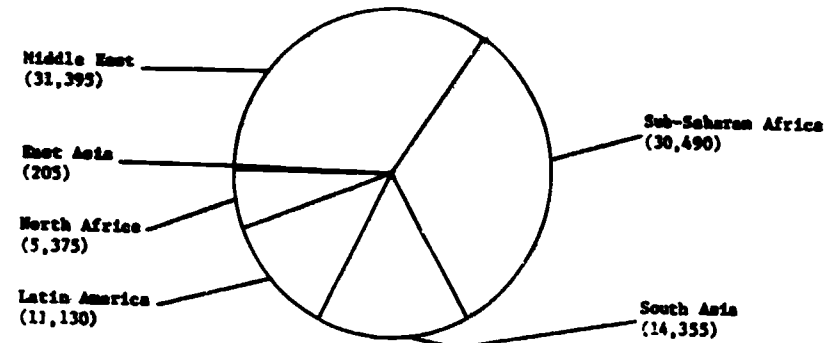


**FIGURE 5**  
REGIONAL SHARE OF FOREIGN STUDENTS WORLDWIDE STUDYING IN TOP  
45 HOST NATIONS\* (1982/83)

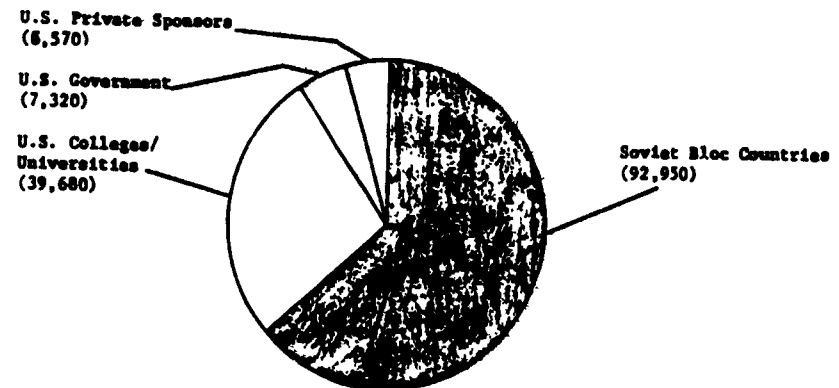


\*Excludes those studying in Romania, Brazil, and the USSR for whom a regional breakdown is not available

**FIGURE 6**  
FOREIGN STUDENTS (THIRD WORLD) IN SOVIET  
BLOC COUNTRIES: REGIONAL ORIGIN  
1984



**FIGURE 7**  
RATIO COMPARISON OF U.S. AND SOVIET BLOC  
COUNTRIES SPONSORSHIP OF FOREIGN  
STUDENTS (1984)\*



\*U.S. figures also include non-Third World foreign students:

Figures in brackets are numbers of foreign students sponsored by the U.S.S.R. (Figure 6) and the U.S.A. (Figure 7)

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